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of the following types of Dorobo.[1] I give the names in the singular and plural forms.[2]

Sing.	*Plur.*
1. Ol-Balafigai	Il-Balafiga
2. Ol-Kinyalafigati	Il-Kinyalafigat
3. Ol-Mósiroi	Il-Mósiro[3]
4. Ol-Médiaki	Il-Médiak
5. Ol-Kisankasai	Il-Kisankasa
6. Ol-Aramanik	Il-Aramanik
7. Ol-Kitokordai	Il-Kitokorda
8. Ol-Kisangara	Il-Kisangara

These names, all preceded by the Masai article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Masai have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Masai idiom. One [illegible] to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dorobo having been unearthed, it remained to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Mósiro* Dorobo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Talamai, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Masai. On being questioned, the *Mósiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Masai, but stated that there were other Dorobo[4] whose language they (the *Mósiro*) did not know.[5]

[1] I do not call them clans. I think it will be agreed, later, that their relationship is more distant than that between clans or families. On the other hand, it would not seem, from the existing evidence, that they can all be definitely labelled as distinct and different tribes.

[2] The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the type as a whole.

[3] According to Hollis, *Il-Mósiro* is the name given to a clan of the Chaga people by the Kenya Masai. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Masai of the Tanganyika Reserve. [4] *Il-Aramanik*.

[5] [It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the

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For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorobo.

Il-Balaŋga

The *Balaŋga* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Balaŋga* elder named Payána, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,[1] has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai Reserve. The *Balaŋga* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Balaŋga* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,[2] and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by other Dorobo women. The *Balaŋga* have no language except Masai,[3] will tell you that they *are* Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. Hence the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye can very often pick out the *Balaŋga* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Balaŋga* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think, that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *farouche* in the physiognomy of the *Balaŋga*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men.

In this connection it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi (see p. 138 and other references *infra*). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that

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Wasanye, whose relation to the Galla resembles that of the Dorobo to the Masai, now all speak Galla, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the names of the Sanye clans are identical with those of Galla clans.—A.W.]

[1] The area bordering the Pangani river, north-west of Korogwe.

[2] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Balaŋga*, whom he considers to be merely impoverished Masai.

[3] Except Kiswahili, of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kilosa area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

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descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balañga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balañga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balañga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyalañgat

The *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Balañga* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyalañgat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyalañgat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except insomuch as it refers to the *Kinyalañgat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyalañgat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyalañgat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *'l-Oikop.* The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle.

[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

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clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Méliak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Abous*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

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be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

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IL-TORŌBO

PART II

Il-Aramanik

I must confess at the outset that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting information and from whom I actually succeeded in extracting the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan" of Dorobo who lived at Moipo and who were fishermen[1] by occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect.

There are *Aramanik* living with the Moipo Masai, but they live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo methods of life. They differ from the *Balaŋga* only inasmuch as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a language of their own. This language (for examples of which see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Mósiro*.[2] I have had personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other.

An *Aramanik* named Serkala, of Moipo, gave me the following bald account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We come from Kigogo,[3] from a hole there used to be therein but which has since closed up, near Ol-doinyo-'le-Lepisiek. We came south with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around Moita and Ol-oitip, but have now come down here to Moipo. Others of us went north to the Serenget' plain. We are not Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their

[1] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent number of the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fisherman clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Ruvu river valley.

[2] See *Die Masai*, M. Merker (Berlin, 1910), p. 229 *et seq.* I think the Dorobo dealt with are *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and *Mósiro* may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 257.

[3] The *Aramanik* name for Kisongo. See p. 132 in *Journal* for January 1928.

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or whether they are as closely connected as the *Mósiro*, *Médiak* and *Kisankasa*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* live in the country of the Wanguu and Wazigua,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve in 1923, the Wanguu and Wazigua inhabiting the Talamai–Gitu–Mtambalo area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*. Rumour says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Masailand where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wanguu and Wazigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Masai language, as a general rule, but know Kinguu and Kizigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the *Mósiro* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Mósiro*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni–Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo may be impoverished Wanguu and Wazigua, but I think it more likely that they are Nilotic[2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a bushman.[3] The few *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kinguu or

[1] They are the names current among the Masai and the Dorobo in Masailand, but it may be that different names are used in the Handeni country.

[2] To the west of Handeni Station in the Pangani District.

[3] Perhaps it would be better to say Hamitic.

[4] [But is not this the case with the Bakalahari in South Africa, stated on good authority to be impoverished Bechuana?—A. W.]

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Kisigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balañga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

Dorobo Arms

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Mósiro*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balañga* and *Kinyalañgat* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kueanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-porōwee'* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

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very open but short sound. In the case of *shódahat*, the *ó* is so open as almost to sound like the *a* in the English *father*. 194

ˈ denotes that the vowel beneath it has a short, clipped sound. In *ilè*, the *è* is pronounced like the *a* in the English *fat*.

. beneath a letter means that it has a slurred sound. *ɸ*, *ɬ*, *ɣ* and *ɰ* in the Masai and *Mósiro* tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of numerals given, the similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* words (up to 5) will be apparent at once. The Aramanik *one* and *two* are unlike anything else in the list, unless *kindei* can be said to resemble *akeŭge* or *epei*. 802 197

The Somali, Masai, Latuka and the two Dorobo words for six are all alike, but the *Mósiro* word for *seven* and the *Aramanik two* (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several counts. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Nandi *seven*.

Turning to the list of nouns; only the word for *ox* is the same, or practically so, in *Mósiro* and *Aramanik*. No other corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance in these tongues (except *asíta* and *ajil*) or in Masai. However, the remarkable similarity between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi list will not fail to be noticed at once. 192 197

The names of the game animals, in the *Mósiro* language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai in some cases. There will also be observed a certain similarity between *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* in the word for *hartebeest*, and the word for *wildebeest* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between *Mósiro* and Nandi will here be noted again. [177]

Some of the simpler verbal forms from Masai and Nandi have been taken and the *Mósiro* equivalents inserted. The similarity between the last two is again manifest. It is to be regretted that I am unable to submit examples of the *Aramanik* verbal forms. These are extremely primitive and very difficult to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very hastily-written examples I have, so far, had the opportunity of obtaining. 192 197 198

It may be as well to mention that the *Mósiro* examples given herein were all written down before I had access to

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Hollis's book on the Nandi. I have left them just as they were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional proof (if any be needed) that the *Mósiro* and the Nandi are very closely related. On checking them over with the *Mósiro* and with Hollis's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the *Mósiro* words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Hollis's Nandi spelling. The language of the *Mósiro*, though undoubtedly at one time pure Nandi, has become, owing to Masai and other influences, considerably modified, and I think that a *Mósiroi* from Talamai and a Nandi might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

The difficulty of setting down verbal forms which sound extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the difference in intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the *Mósiroi* is no respecter of persons, in the sense that " ye want " and " they want " are more or less the same to him. He rarely troubles to be accurate about his verbs (the same remark holds good when he is speaking Kiswahili), merely differentiating between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to elucidate the precise meaning.

Very few examples are given. It was thought that a longer and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and unscientific paper of this nature.

No.	Somali.	Masai.	Latuka.	Nandi.	Turkana.	Suk.	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
1	Kan	Ōbo; *m.* Nabo; *f.*	Abodi	Ahenge	Epei	Oboñgô	Ahañge	Kindéi
2	Laba	Aaro; *m.* Áre; *f.*	Arrega	Aeñg or Oieñg	Ñgaro	Ogheñg	Aam[1]	Laam
3	Sadeh	Okuni; *m.* Uni; *f.*	Guniggo	Somok	Ñgauai	Somok	Sōmok	Samak
4	Afar	Oañgwan; *m.* Oñgwan; *f.*	Angon	Añgwan	Nōmwon	Añgwan	Añgwan	Ongwan
5	Shan	Imyet	Niyet	Mut	Ekan	Mūt	Moōt	Imyet
6	Leh	Ille	Elle	Ille *or* Kulle	Ekani kapei	Mut ngô[2] Oboñgô	Ela	Ilō
7	Tadobā	Ooñshana; *m.* Naañshana; *f.*	Attarit	Tisap	Ekani gare	Mut ngô Oghieñg	Saal[3]	Naañshana
8	Sided	Isyet	Ottégoni	Siñit	Egañgaun	Mut ngô Somok	Isyet	Isyet
9	Sagal	Ōudo; *m.* Naudo; *f.*	Ottongon	Sohoi	Ekan kumwon	Mut ngô Añgwan	Endorol[4]	Endorol
10	Toban	Tomon	Tomon	Taman	Tommon	Mut ngô Taman	Taman	Tomon

The Somali, Latuka and Turkana counts given above have been taken from Sir Charles Eliot's introduction to *The Masai ; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis). The Nandi and Suk counts have been taken from Hollis and Beech respectively. The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* spelling is my own. The remarkable similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* numerals (up to 5) will be noted.

[1] The final *g* is so faint that I have omitted it altogether.
[2] *Six*, *seven*, *eight* and *nine* in Suk are often represented by the Turkana word (Beech).
[3] *Saal* is also used by the Masai for *nine* (p. xv, introduction to Merker's *Die Masai*).
[4] The Masai also use *Endorol* for *nine*.

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	Masai.[a]	*Nandi.*[a]	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
Goat	En-gíno	Ngororiet	Ñgarárie	Oferit
Sheep	Ol-keri	Kechiriet	Kejirie	Haau
Ox	Ol-kitoñg	Teta	Kirigi	Kirigit
Hand	Eng-aina	Eut	Eeiu	Moõgo
Foot	En-geju	Keido	Kelda	Yeõh
Nose	En-gume	Serut	Serut	Etinga
Head	El-lughunya	Metit	Metit	Sogo[b]
Man	Ol-tuñgani	Chilto	Chilch	Kinde
Woman	E-ñgoróyõni	Korket	Karaka	Maito
Child	En-geral	Lakwet	Lagwe	Uo
Knife	Eng-alem	Chepkeswai	Silélé	Pandeu
Bow	Eng-úo	Kwanget	Kueanda	Matu
Arrow	Em-bae	Kôtet	Kãte	Gare
Sword	Ol-alem	Rotuet	Rótue	Joo
Sun	Eng-oloñg	Asista	Asíta	Ajit
Moon	Ol-apa	Aruwet	Araãue	Leheuk
Day	En-dãma	Êkonet	Fetinda	Ajóta
Night	En-gewárie	Kembaut	Lañgat	Eramesa
God	Eng-ai	Asis	Tororéta	Oyet

[a] The Masai and Nandi words given are prefixed by the singular article.

	Masai.	*Nandi.*	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
Zebra	Ol-oitigõ; *s.* Il-oitigõshi; *p.*	Sigiriet-ap-tim; *s.* Sigiriõk-ap-tim; *p.*	Sikirie; *s.*[1] Sirkon; *p.*	Shijio
Elephant	Ol-tõme; *s.* Il-tõmia; *p.*	Pëliot; *s.* Pëlek; *p.*	Pëliandee; *s.* Pëlek; *p.*	Fánaku
Hartebeest	Ol-kondi; *s.* Il-kondin; *p.*		Orobout; *s.* Iroboutisie; *p.*	Naboru
Giraffe	Ol-mëut; *s.* Il-mëuti; *p.*	Ingotiot; *s.* Ingotinik; *p.*	Tiangãnyiet; *s.* Taanganyo; *p.*	Gilãesuk
Rhinoceros	E-muny; *s.* I-muny; *p.*	Kipsirichet; *s.* Kipsirichaiik; *p.*	Nyiee; *s.* Nyioosie; *p.*	Ndovuk[2]
Hippopotamus	Ol-makau; *s.* Il-makain; *p.*	Makasta; *s.* Makasuek; *p.*	Makaita; *s.* Makai; *p.*	Dalo[3]
Lion	Ol-ñgatuny; *s.* Il-ñgatunyo; *p.*	Ñgetundo; *s.* Ñgetunyik; *p.*	Ñgetunda; *s.* Ñgetuinyik; *p.*	Merok *or* Majok
Buffalo	Ol-osõ[b]wani; *s.* Il-osõ[b]wani; *p.*	Soet; *s.* Soen; *p.*	Saie[b]; *s.* Saieeni; *p.*	Shõdahat
Wildebeest	O-engat; *s.* I-engatin; *p.*		Engaita; *s.* Engatin; *p.*	Engat[3]

[1] Cf. the Masai word for donkey, *O-sibiria, I-sirkon.*
[2] Cf. the Kiswahili *Ndovu*, meaning an elephant.
[3] Obviously the same word in the three languages.

In Masai, Nandi, and *Mósiro* there are many alternative names for the animals listed above. Only one example of each has been given in order to save space. The *Aramanik* words given have no plural forms. It will be noted how similar are the methods of forming the plurals in Nandi and *Mósiro*. [193]

In the *Mósiro* tongue the use of the article is vague in the extreme, and it is often a matter of some difficulty to ascertain whether it is being used or not. However, I think it exists and that some individuals use it more or less habitually, but

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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192 the word seems to gain nothing from its inclusion or otherwise
• 197 and it would be difficult to lay down any rule about it.

The *Mósiro*, despite their laxity in the use of their own
[193] article (assuming it to exist), are, curiously enough, surprisingly accurate in their use of the Masai article when speaking that language. (See p. xxii of the introduction to *The Suk; their Language and Folklore* (Beech). See also p. 52 of the text of that work.)

193 197

A Comparison between some of the Simpler Verbal Forms in Masai, Nandi and *Mósiro*

	Masai.	*Nandi.*	*Mósiro.*
I follow	A-suj nanu	A-'sup-i ane	A-matešn (ane') [1]
Thou followest	I-suj iye	I-isup-i inye	A-mateš inyet
He follows	E-suj ninye	I-'sup-i inendet	A-matešn anet
We follow	Ki-súj iyook	Ki-isup-i achek	Ki-matešn eechek
You follow	I-suj-usuju 'ndae	O-'sup-i okwek	O-matešn aakwek
They follow	E-suj ninje	Isup-i ichek	'mataien eechek
I do not follow	M-a-suj	M-á-'sup-i	M-amatešn
Thou followest not	M-i-suj	Me-i-'sup-i	M-amateš
He does not follow	M-e-suj	Me-'sup-i	M-amateš
We do not follow	Mi-ki-suj	Ma-ki-isup-i	Mi-mateiya
Ye do not follow	M-i-sój-usuju	Mo-o-'sup-i	Amo-mateš
They do not follow	M-e-suj	Me-'sup-i	Mai-mateš
I do not know	M-a-iyólô-u	Maonget	Mangun (ane')
Thou knowest not	M-i-'yólô-u	Minget	Mingun inyet
He does not know	M-e-iyólô-u	Minget inne	Mangun anet
We do not know	Mi-ki-'yólô-u	Mokinget	Makingun eechek
Ye do not know	M-i-'yólô-lo'	Nenyu mwonget	Moongun aakwek
They do not know	M-e-iyólô-u	Menget icek	Maingun eechek
I followed	A-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-a-'sup	Ara-matešn
Thou followest	I-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-i-'sup	Ara-matešn
He followed	E-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-'sup *or* Ki-ko-'sup	Ará-ko-matešn
We followed	Ki-tu-sój-u-tuá	Ki-ki-isup	Ará-ke-matešn
You followed	I-tu-suj-usuju-tuá [2]	Ki-o-'sup	Ar'-oo-matešn
They followed	E-tu-suj-u-tuá	Ki-'sup *or* Ki-ko-'sup	Ara-ke-matešn

[1] May be, and often is, omitted.

The negative present of the Nandi verb "to know" as conjugated above is taken from Sir Charles Eliot's introduction to Sir Claud Hollis's *Masai Language and Folklore*. The spelling of the other Masai and Nandi tenses is derived from
[197] Hollis's works on the Masai and Nandi. The examples of tenses in *Mósiro* given above (especially those without the pronouns) are submitted with diffidence. As I have said elsewhere, the *Mósiroi* is not a respecter of persons, and verbs seem to depend largely for their meaning on the context and on the conjoint pronoun. Very few *Mósiro* have any idea at all of conjugating a verb. The effort to reduce the *Mósiro* tenses to some form of lucidity entailed more work than I should
[128] have believed possible. The results are submitted for what they may be worth—I cannot vouch for their accuracy.

[2] Or I-tu-suj-u-tuá?

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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laŋgat who lead a life of hunting. These people (being Masai and 'l-Oikop, if my conclusions are not erroneous) are pastoralists at heart, and nearly all the elders have their own small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Masai and 'l-Oikop respectively to all outward seeming.

The *Aramanik* (in the Moipo area) are also rapidly becoming Masai, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to this cause. My opportunities for investigating the *Aramanik* of the northern areas (O-sụbuko L'oltatwa [1] and round the northern end of Eyasi lake) have been extremely limited, but it would seem that they are far less susceptible to Masai influence than are their brethren at Moipo and Lo-'sokonoi. The *Aramanik* present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a distinct language and the very meagre information about them contained in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to put forward any theory as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Masai, as are the *Balaŋga*.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo (if these be their true names) might also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Dorobo dealt with here.

Among the *Mósiro* Masai influence waxes yearly, and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Masai are willing to pay for *Mósiro* women; the fact that the Masai are always ready to employ the younger *Mósiro* men as herds; the stricter enforcement by Government of the Game Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of bush life by the *Mósiro*, who are lazy but far from uncivilisable.

I believe the *Mósiro* to have been very closely allied to the Nandi at one time, if they were not pure Nandi.[2] The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a more

[1] Ngorongoro localities. These Dorobo are entirely distinct from the *Kangeju*, written about by Mr. F. J. Bagshawe (see note 1, p. 249).
[2] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 2.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Nouns in Dorôbo and Nandi have two forms for the singular and two for the plural, *i.e.* a primary form, as *muren*, [a] warrior, and *muren-et*, [the] warrior; the characteristic letters of the secondary suffix are, sing., -t (-d); pl., -k. Words of both languages are usually given in the secondary form; primary forms are distinguished by an asterisk, thus: *mpitiko**. When the Dorôbo use a Nandi word, or when the true Dorôbo is the same as Nandi, the words are marked by the letter N following. Mâsae words are marked thus: † (*engerait*†). 193

References.—H.M. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*; H.N. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*.

I.—General Remarks on the Dorôbo Tribes: Their Origin and History.

The people who form the subject of this paper occupy the forest area north of Tindiret hill, above Muhoroni station on the Kenya and Uganda Railway, between lat. 0° 5′ S. and 0° 10′ N., and long. 35° 20′ E. and 35° 35′ E., the country that the Nandi call Kâpchepkendi and Kâmelilo (*see* Text-fig. 1). The Dorôbo call themselves Okiot, pl. Okiek (fem. Chep-okiot, pl. Chep-okiek), by which name they are known to the Nandi. By the Mâsae they are called Ol-Torôbôni, pl. Il-Torôbo (fem. *En-Dorôbôni*, pl. *In-Dorôbo*). From the latter form is derived the name by which they are generally known, Wandorôbo. The meaning of the name Oki-ek (stem Oki-) is unknown; the Mâsae name Torôbo may possibly be derived from the adjective *dorop* (pl. *doropu*) (short), in allusion to the short stature of the Dorôbo (*see below*, "Physical Features"), though Hollis (*The Masai*, p. 28, n. 2) thinks that it is not Since the word Okiek is not perhaps as well known as Dorôbo, I have used the latter throughout this paper. 101 [131]

People calling themselves Okiek are found in various parts of Kenya Colony, in forest regions. A list of the sections[1] of the Dorôbo is given by Mr. C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 21, together with a short vocabulary of three Dorôbo dialects. In a note to the same paper, Mr. Hobley adds a list of 48 words of the language of a section called "El Mogogodo," who live near the E-Uuaso Ñgiro, and who are thought to be Dorôbo. Whatever the origin of the vocabulary of the other Dorôbo languages may be, their structure is certainly Nandi; the "El Mogogodo" vocabulary, on the other hand, is apparently a mixture from various sources, among which I can trace Mâsae, Nandi, Turkana and Nilotic (Dho-Luo) words. The presumption is, therefore, that the "El Mogogodo" are not true Dorôbo. The earliest account of the Dorôbo seems to be that of the Rev. J. L. Krapf, who wrote in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Enguturk Eloikob* (1854) that "the Wandurôbo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the [197] [175] 105

[1] Not "clans," as Mr. Hobley calls them.

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105 Wakuafi [Mâsai] do, who therefore boast of their own superior houses. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of
114 African philology." Krapf is, of course, writing of Dorôbo in contact with the southern Mâsai. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorôbo, that of Maguire in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1928), is disappointing, and marred by an ignorance of Nandi, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorôbo. 2/A

101 The actual distribution and sections of the Dorôbo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorôbo.

[197]

1. Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi.	In contact with the Nandi-speaking tribes of Nandi, Kamasya, and Kipsikis.
2. Lo-'l-diani.	
3. Ravine.	
4. East of Kipsikis.	
5. Chepcharwanek, Kamiek, and Kipkurevek, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Mâsai.
6. Nalêta.	
7. Kidong.	
8. Digiri.	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.
9. Siwiwek and Lelaviek, N. of Mt. Kenya (E. Uaso Ngiro).	

Tanganyika Dorôbo.

10. Taturu,[1] lat. 5° S.
11. Mosiro.[2]
12. Aramanik.[2]

● 197 All these sections speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Nandi dialect seems to be one of the criteria by which true Dorôbo can be distinguished. (Sketch-map, Text-fig. 2.)

174 The origin of the Dorôbo is uncertain. Those of the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi group do not differ noticeably from the Nandi in physical character, except in one or two details, which are probably due to environment; from this we cannot, therefore, derive much help. Mâsai and Nandi traditions point to the Dorôbo having been found by them where they are now, when they first came into this part of eastern

[1] J. T. Last, *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, p. 189; G. W. B. H. in *Man*, 1928, 120.
[2] R. A. J. Maguire, "Il Torôbo," in *Journ. African Soc.*, xxviii, pp. 127, 240.

2/A [See source number 2, this file--analyst]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Africa; in the Mâsai story called "Naiterukop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorôbo (H.M., p. 266); and in the Nandi story "Tapand' ap emet" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorôbo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorôbo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these stories.

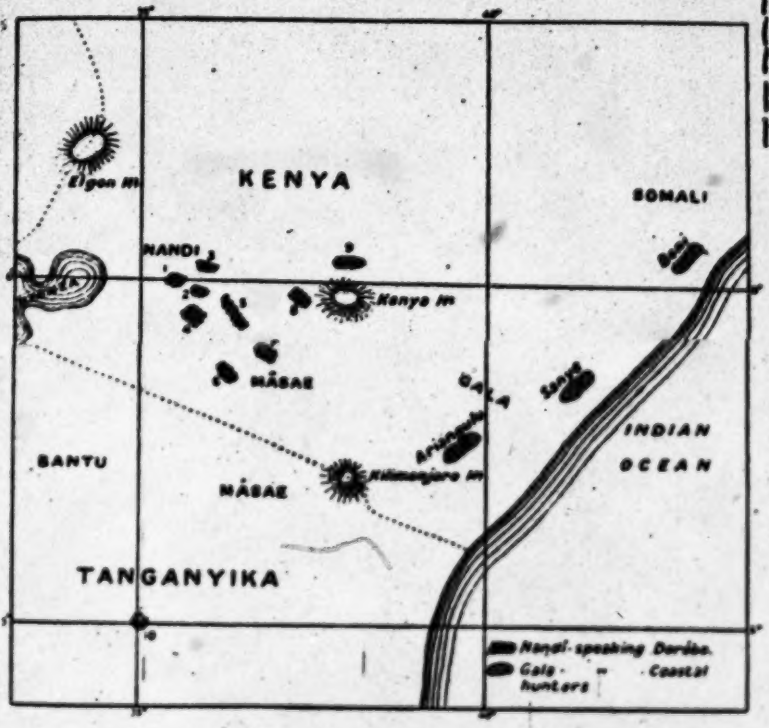

FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP OF EASTERN AFRICA, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NANDI-SPEAKING DORÔBO.

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 98) a tradition of the Moi clan, that a Dorôbo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kámelílo-Kápchepkendi Dorôbo the chief clan is the Moi or Kolgonyot. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorôbo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 F1.6 Dorobo F1.6

174 set forth certain theories as to their origin, which are offered as a starting-point from which to work. The theories are:—

[177] (1) That the Dorôbo are an autochthonous people who were found in East Africa by the Nandi and Masai, and who have assimilated not only the Nandi language, but also some of their customs and religious ideas.

(2) That the Dorôbo are part of the parent-stock of the Masai-Nandi group.

(3) That the Dorôbo are part of the Nandi sub-group, who broke off from the main body very much earlier than the other tribes, and had been separated so long from them that their original relationship had been forgotten by the time they came in contact again.

174 199 To all of these theories there are objections, not the least of which are linguistic. The conclusions arrived at with regard to the origin of a language do not necessarily hold good for the origin of the people who speak it; but in this case the language is almost the only distinguishable feature, and must therefore be taken into consideration. The true Dorôbo language, as now spoken, is closer to Nandi than Suk, and much closer than Masai. It appears that Suk broke off from the main group before the formation of the secondary suffix or "definite article"; Dorôbo and the rest of the Nandi sub-group possess this suffix, which I believe is peculiar to this sub-group. Assuming, then, that the Nandi language passed through a stage with no secondary suffix, of which Suk[4] is the only remaining example—and it must have done so, nouns with primary and secondary suffixes being used side by side, and the secondary suffix being obviously a later development of the primary form—how can we account for either (i) the presence of the secondary suffix in Dorôbo if it was one of the parents of Nandi, since it could hardly be expected that the parent language would be as fully developed as its daughter; or (ii) the absence from Suk of the secondary suffix, and its presence in Dorôbo, if both Dorôbo and Suk were early offshoots from the Nandi Sub-group? Consideration of the facts suggests that the secondary suffix was first used in the Elgon languages (Kony, Sapei, etc.). Language and tradition seem to indicate that perhaps the first theory is the most tenable; yet against it may be urged, why should the Dorôbo have assimilated the language and customs of the Nandi rather than those of the Masai? Should the first theory prove to be correct, we may suppose that the non-Nandi element in the Dorôbo vocabulary represents the language spoken before they came into contact with the Nandi.

000 In the coastal area of Kenya Colony there live other hunting tribes, known as Sanye,[2] Boni,[3] and Aringudu.[4] These tribes are of a very primitive description.

[4] *i.e.* The Suk subdivision of the Nandi group, comprising the dialects of Suk, Endo, and Marakwet.

[2] A. Werner in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1913, p. 36, n.; *Man*, 1913, 107.

[3] R. E. Hollis in *Man*, 1905, 94.

[4] C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1912, 9; A. H. Champion in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1922, p. 21.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

VI.—Language.

● 197 The language of the Dorobo is in structure a dialect of Nandi, which belongs, in point of development, to a stage between the Elgon dialects (Kony, Sapei, etc.) and Kipsikis (or Lumbwa). While many of the words are either (i) more or less the same as in Nandi, or (ii) the same as in other dialects of Nandi, a number of words do not belong to the Nandi group at all, nor have I been able to trace them in other languages; the assumption is that they represent the remains of the original Dorobo language. Masai (especially Uasin Gishu) has also contributed to the vocabulary.

Grammar.

193 *Letters.*—The spelling is the same as that used in Sir A. C. Hollis's book. As in Nandi, *k* is often inclined to a *g*-sound; in such cases it is written *k*; *k* sometimes inclines to a *w*-sound. There is in some words a broad *o*-sound, here written *oa*, for which Nandi has *o*; the broad *ae*-sound which Hollis heard in Tenguryiku appears here as *d*[1]; I could hear no trace of the reinforcement of *a* by *e* which he also heard (X.II., p. xxviii.)

[194] *Accent.*—The accent is equal on all syllables, as in Nandi.

Substantives.—As in Nandi, nouns have a primary form (without "definite article") and a secondary form (with "definite article").

The secondary suffix, or "definite article": (i) sing., *-t*, *-ta*, *-to*, *-da*, *-do*; (ii) pl., *-ak*, *-ok*, *-ik*, *-uk*.

Formation of the plural.

The general rules for the formation of the plural are as follows:—

(i.)

When the sing. endings are *-et*, *-ijet*, the pl. ends in *-ech*:—

Singular.		Plural.		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(ii.)

When the sing. endings are *-it*, *-et*, *-ot*, *-ichot*, the pl. ends in *-ech*:—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

* Though occasionally *oa* is heard.

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(d) Reflexive—*Ndiku, kui.*

Present.		*Past.*	
S.	*P.*	*S.*	*P.*
1. *n'kwaa'i kui, I wash myself*	1. *tit'waa'i kui*	1. *kaa'a kwa'gui*	1. *kaa'tit'waa'gui.*

(e) Causal—*Ptuku, i-.*

Tweta, stand; i-tweta, make to stand.

This form is conjugated like ordinary i-stem verbs. (See above.)

(f) Reciprocal—*Ndiku, ewa, gwa.*

Present.			*Past.*		
S. 1. *n-ndi-kwa'a, I am silent with*	*P.* 1. *ki-ndi-kwa'a*		*S.* 1. *kaa-n-ndi-kwa'a*	*P.* 1. *kaa-ki-ndi-kwa'a*	
2. *i-ndi-kwa'a*	2. *m-ndi-kwa'a*		2. *kaa-i-ndi-kwa'a*	2. *kaa-m-ndi-kwa'a*	
3. *ndi-kwa'a*	3. *wa-ndi-kwa'a*		3. *kaa-ndi-kwa'a*	3. *kaa-wa-ndi-kwa'a*	

Imperative.

S. ndi-kwa', be silent with (someone else). *P. n-ndi-kwa', be ye silent together.*

Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions.

Tweet, above.
Kee-kwey, again.
Ah, until.
Bilig, at, in, to, from.
Amee-ee, however.
Tee, before (place).
Lit, behind.
Ngwey-ya-yuk } *before.*
Of'-kwik-ee }
Kwee, between.
Lit, for.
Ondi, inside.
Kee-ke } *like.*
Kwe }
Ankinka, on.
Tweee, not yet.

Ngaka, now.
Aji, yes, of.
Mandai, not.
Kee-ekie (see ee), quickly.
Mwiin, slowly.
Ke, to-day.
Tweegweeta, day after to-morrow.
Tee, to-morrow.
Mbaliq, very.
Pwik, to-morn.
Ee, ele, ekee, ekee.
O, yes.
Amwi, yesterday.
Ekie, day before yesterday.
Kwey, ele-kwye, of old.

Vocabulary

(a) Nouns.

In this vocabulary, nouns are given in full; the secondary forms are in brackets. Comparisons are given with Kwey (Kw.), Segei (Seg.), and Suk (Sk.); words of these

192 [191]

192 dialects are given in the secondary singular? Minor words (M.) are given in the
197 singular. Where a word is the same as in Masai, the letter (M.) is affixed. Where a word is apparently original Dorobo, the letter (D.) is affixed.

Afternoon	.. ..	lelgut (M.).
Animal	.. ..	tiony (tiondo) ; pl., tiongin (tiongik) (M.).
Ankle	.. ..	kwoore (kwoond) ; pl., kwoore (kwoonondo) (D.).
Ant—		
Black	.. ..	emegik (emegikiat) ; pl., emegik (emegikik) (M.).
White	.. ..	keiye (keiyat) ; pl., kei (keiik) (M.).
Ant-bear	.. ..	kitoo (kitoot) ; pl., kitog (kitoondo) (M.).
Antelope—		
Beak-back	..	kwoosi (kwoosuk) ; pl., kwoosin (kwoosukiak) (D.).
Duiker	.. ..	ilgoswoyo (ilgoswoyat) ; pl., ilgoswoin (ilgoswoiak), Kw., ilgoswoiyoo-dat.
Duiker, blue	..	kigoako (kigoakiat) ; pl., kigoakoo (kigoakiak).
Duiker, red	..	ealeale (ealealat) ; pl., ealealoo (ealealoiak) (M.).
Hand-back	..	irukoot (irukoiat) ; pl., irukoiso (irukoisiak) (M.).
Water-back	..	kigoosero (kigoosuat) ; pl., kigooseroo (kigoosuaiak) (M.).
Arm ..	.. ..	kiko (kikiat) ; pl., kikoso (kikoak). M., kiako — fore-leg ; Kw., kwiako.
Arm, fore	.. ..	enkoo (enkoonat) ; pl., enkooni (enkooniik) (M).
Armpit	.. ..	kuthiol (kuthiolio) ; pl., kuthiolioo (kuthiolioiak) (M.).
Arrow	.. ..	ndoonat (ndoonatik) ; pl., ndoonatin (ndoonatiik) (D.).
		kiloo (kiloot) ; pl. kiloi (kiloiak) (M.).
		kiperkiyoo (kiperkiyoot) ; pl., kiperkiyoon (kiperkiyoniik) (M.).
		kigoolo (kigoolat) ; pl., kigoono (kigoolaiik) (M.).
Arrow-head	..	kiperkiyoo.
Arrow-binding	..	ainoi (ainoiko) ; pl., ainoiko (ainoikoiik) (M.).
Ashes	.. ..	mibuyanget (mibuyangetik) (D.).
Axe	.. ..	mikoko (mikokoi) ; pl., mikokoo (mikokoiik). M., ee-koko.
Back	.. ..	mooro (moroot) ; pl., mirooroot (mooroosiik) (M.).
Bag	.. ..	mentuk (mentukoot) ; pl., mentukoo (mentukoiik) (D.).
Bark—		
of tree	.. ..	ingokoot (ingokooiak) (M.).
opposite	.. ..	gikoo-ko ; pik (pikik).
Bark	.. ..	gooto (gootot) ; pl., goo (gooik) (M.).
Barrel (honey)	..	gooso (goosoot) ; pl., gooso (goosoik) (D.).
Basket	.. ..	kwog (kwogot) ; pl., kwogoo (kwogoiik) (M.).

Bak, having no secondary forms, is given in the singular.

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Bat	... ...	mwa (mwaki) ; pl., mwaai (mwaaiki) (N.).
Beard	... ...	mwaiya (mwaiyai) ; pl., mwai (mwaiki) (N.).
Bed	... ...	kiti (kitiru) ; pl., kitiru (kitiruki) (N.).
Bee	... ...	ngaiya (ngaiyai) ; pl., ngai (ngaiki) (N.).
Beetle	... ...	kamag (kamagai) ; pl., kamagai (kamagaiki).
Bell	... ...	ithangai (ithangaiki) ; pl., ithangaria (ithangariaki) (N.).
Bell (leg)	... ...	kigitana (kigitanaki) ; pl., kigitanaki (kigitanakiaki) (D.).
		ngitiiko (ngitiikoki) ; pl., ngitiikoki (ngitiikokiaki) (D.).
Belly	... ...	ngaiyini (ngaiyinaki) ; pl., ngaiyinaria (ngaiyinariaki) (N.).
Belt	... ...	ontoroi (ontoroki) ; pl., ontoroki (ontoroikiaki) (N.).
Bicycle	... ...	kamoreto (kamoretoki) ; pl., kamoreto (kamoretoiki). Rep. kar ararimo-ini = kam-ararimo.
Bird	... ...	ruoti (ruotiyai) ; pl., ruoti (ruotiki) (N.).
Blood	... ...	ekabai (ekabaiki) (N.).
Bone	... ...	kiiwa (kiiwai) ; pl., kii (kiiiki) (N.).
Bowstring	... ...	gunga (gungai) ; pl., gungai (gungaiki) (D.).
Bow	... ...	kiyuduj (kiyudujiki) ; pl., kiyudujwa (kiyudujwaiki). Ka. kar. kiyuduj-ini ; Rag., kiuduj-ini ; Ki., kwiuduj ; N., kwaugwi
Boy	... ...	mwiti (mwitiki) ; pl., mwiiti (mwiitiki) (N.).
Breast—		
Man	... ...	ngiri (ngiriki) ; pl., ngiriki (ngiriikiaki) (N.).
Woman	... ...	mihiriwai (mihiriwaiki) ; pl., mihiriwaiki (mihiriwaiikiaki) (D.).
Bridge	... ...	kiaaro (kiaaraai) ; pl., kiaararo (kiaaraaiki) (D.).
Broom	... ...	mihiati (mihiatiaki) ; pl., mihiatai (mihiataiki).
Brother	... ...	kwaru (kwarumiki) ; pl., kwaraaro (kwaraaroki). (Cf. Ka., kwaruka (kwarukiai) = cousin.)
Buffalo	... ...	nkiyaruai (nkiyaruaiki) ; pl., nkiyaruaiki (nkiyaruaiikiaki) (D.).
Bull	... ...	mwaiikiirk (mwaiikiirkiaki) ; pl., mwaiikiirkiaki (mwaiikiirkiaaki). (D.).
Bullock	... ...	ni (nini) ; pl., nini (niiki) (N.).
Buttock	... ...	kiti (kitiai) ; pl., kitiai (kitiaiaki).
Calabash	... ...	ani (anini) ; pl., anini (aniiki) (N.).
Calf	... ...	mwi (mwiiki) ; pl., mwiki (mwiiki) (N.).
Cap	... ...	ngwani (ngwaniki) ; pl., ngwaniki (ngwaniiaki) (N.).
Cap (old man's hat)		mwiiru (mwiiruai) ; pl., mwiiruai (mwiiruaiki) (N.).
Cat	... ...	mbiriigiri (mbiriigiri) ; pl., mbiriigiriki (mbiriigiriiaki) (N.).
Cat (wood)	... ...	kwagaara (kwagaarani) ; pl., kwagaararwa (kwagaararaaiki) (N.).
Cheek	... ...	mwiriiki (mwiriigiki) ; pl., mwiriigiwa (mwiriigwaiki) (N.).
Chief	... ...	kiiraigwa (kiiraigwaiki) ; pl., kiiraig (kiiraigiki) (N.).
Child	... ...	kiiwa (kiiwai) ; pl., kiiwai (kiiwaiki) (N.).

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Chin .. .. tuwon (tuwonet) ; pl., tuwonsi (tuwonik) (K.).
Chimpanzee .. tuwo (tuwoki) (K.).
Chisel .. .. tuwor (tuworet) ; pl., tuwosa (tuwosiek). (From tuwo — above ; *cf.* K., tuwor — above.)
Child .. .. kwon (kwoiton) (K.).
Collar-bone .. .. mulingot (mulingotiet) ; pl., mulingotsi (mulingotsik) (K.).
Constellation .. kiruny (kirungot) (K.).
Cool .. .. pusiwa (pusiwet) ; pl., pusiwa (pusiwik) (K.).
Cough .. .. kol (kolok).
Country .. .. ne (nenet) ; pl., nenetiwa (nenetiwok) (K.).
Cousin—
Maternal .. .. ayokiya ; mkwa.
Paternal .. .. kilka.
Cow .. .. tuny (tiny) ; pl., tiok (tuka).
Coward .. .. chemkwenyiya (chemkwenyiyat) ; pl., chemkwenyik (chemkwenyiik) (K.).
sekwin (sekwinet) ; pl., sekwi (sekwinik) (K.).
Crab .. .. kipkenyin (kipkenyinet) ; pl., kipkenyinik (kipkenyinikik) (D.).
Crocodile .. .. mukwa (mukwata) ; pl., mukwa (mukwak). (Mukwa in Nandi dialects means a hippopotamus.)
Dance .. .. tiny (tinok) ; pl., tinyang (tinyangik) (K.).
Darkness .. .. sawandet (sawandetin) (K.).
Dawn .. .. kwelta. (Kwya, kwelta ; Sup., kwelta.)
Day .. .. .. chilet (chilwet) ; pl., chilwa (chilwanik) (K.).
ptit (ptitet) ; pl., ptitwa (ptitwanik) (K.).
Daylight .. .. ptit.
Deformed person .. sekwaswa (sekwaswet) ; pl., sekwasis (sekwasisik). K., sekwa.
Die, curse .. .. ngogomsi (ngogomsik) ; pl., ngogomsis (ngogomsisik). K., ang'ogom.
Disease .. .. kiwo (kiwon) ; pl., kiwoin (kiwoinik) (K.).
Devil .. .. chemwa (chemwanik) ; pl., chemwanis (chemwanisik) (K.).
Dew .. .. .. chwo (chwon) (K.).
Dirt .. .. sim (simik) ; pl., simwa (simwak) (K.).
Dog .. .. .. kyilik (kyilikin) ; pl., kyilik (kyilikik) (Ke.). Sup., kyigit. Kipsikis, kyilikin. Perhaps the same with Bk., kidi.
Dress .. .. kwokut (kwokutet) ; pl., kwokut (kwokutik) (K.).
Drink .. .. ruokwin (ruokwinet) (K.).
Ear .. .. .. ik (ikik) ; pl., ikin (ikik) (K.).
Eat (hole in top of) .. ongolwo (ongolwotik) ; pl., ongolwis (ongolwisik). Ke., ingolwet. Sup., ingolwetinwet.

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Earth (soil) .. ŋgunyonyo (ŋgunyonyot); pl., ŋgunyony (ŋgunyonyok). N., ŋgulgunyat. Ko., nyalgwonisk.

Elbow .. .. tégni (tegnito); pl., tegnina (tegnisk) (D.).

Elephant .. .. pílio (pílitet); pl., pil (pílisk) (N.).

Emi .. .. tapan (tapanda); pl., tapanna (tapanesk) (N.).

Enemy .. .. punyo (punyot); pl., pun (punik) (N.).

Entrail .. .. akutan (akutaniet); pl., akutan (akutanik) (N.).

Evening .. .. kanap; kaimen (N.).

Evil eye .. .. mkut (N.).

Excrement .. .. sike (sikut); pl., sik (sikek). Ko., sigek = ox-dung.

Eye .. .. kolg (kolgola); pl., kolgin (kolgik) (N.).

Face .. .. tokweh (tokwita); pl., tokiéch (tokiéchik). Ko., tokwek, tokwita.

Falsehood .. .. kákwina (kákwinek) (N.).

Fat .. .. .. mwai (mwaita); pl., mwan (mwanik) (N.).

Father .. .. kálu.

Father, my (man speaking) .. pamokgo (N.).

Father, my (woman speaking) .. pakwo (N.).

Fearful person .. swolgin (swolgiuet); pl., swolgin (swolginik) (D.).

Feast-day .. .. kambak (kambakita); pl., kambakwa (kambakwak) (N.).

Feather .. .. kowwin (kowwiet); pl., kowe (kowwik) (N.).

Finger .. .. mwrwa (mwrwet); pl., mwrin (mwrik) (N.).

Fire .. .. mi (mik); pl., mwetinga (mwetimwak) (N.).

Firestick .. .. pin (pinet); pl., pinwa (pinwanik). N., pitwet.

Firestick (soft stick) .. tawam (tawamet); pl., tawamwa (tawamwanik).

Firewood .. .. kwenda (kwendet); pl., kwen (kwenik) (N.).

Fist .. .. kotukkwat (kotukkwatiet); pl., kotukkwat (kotukkwatik). N., kakwatiet. Ko., kotukget. Sup., tolokkwtyet.

Flea .. .. .. orkwita (orkwitet); pl., orkwit (orkwitik) (D.).

Flower .. .. tapita (tapitet); pl., tapitai (tapitik).

Fog .. .. .. kiptongo (kiptongot); pl., kiptongwa (kiptongwanik) (D.).

Food .. .. emit (emitik); pl., emitwag (emitwagik) (N.).

Foot .. .. .. ogwaan (ogwaanet) (N.).

Foot .. .. kol (kolóla); pl., kolíen (kolíek) (N.).

Foot (sole) .. .. kolíegwan (kolíegwanet) (N.).

Ford .. .. tapar (taparita); pl., taparwa (taparwak) (N.).

Foreigner .. .. tun (tunet); pl., tui (tuinik) (N.).

Forest .. .. emtuik (emtuikit)*; pl., emtuikwa (emtuikwak) (Ko.). Sup., emwito; pl., emwitwak.

* For emtuik to; the Sup. primary form is emwi.

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Friend	.. ..	chorus (chorust); pl., choronoi (choronõk) (N.).
Frog	.. ..	kimasyari (kimasyarit); pl., kimasyaris (kimasyariõik) (D.).
Garment	.. ..	akur (akuriet); pl., akures (akuresiõk). (*Cf.* N., inguriet.)
Generation	..	ipin (ipinda); pl., ipinua (ipinuek) (N.).
Geographical division		kor (koret); pl., koroeua (koroeuek) (N.) (for the pl., *cf.* Sap., korõeiõk).
Gift	.. ..	melek (melekto); pl., melekua (melekuek) (N.).
Girl	.. .. ..	simborokwo (simborokwet); pl., simborokou (simborokõõik) (D.).
		tie (tiepto); pl., tipin (tipik) (N.) (for the secondary sing., *cf.* Ko., kiepto).
Goat	.. ..	chepkwoch (chepkwochet); pl., chepkwochois (chepkwochoiõik) (D.).
God	.. ..	asis (asista); pl., asisua (asisuek) (N.).
Good-bye	.. ..	asiwo (N.).
Grain	.. ..	olbai (olbaiõk). (Sap., paek. N., pãk. M., olpaeki.)
Grass	.. ..	samsam (samsamiet); pl., samsam (samsamik) (D.).
		kesuket (kesuketiet); pl., kesuket (kesuketik) (D.).
Grasshopper	..	chemonjorua (chemonjoruet); pl., chemonjoroi (chemonjoroõk) (N.).
Gratis	.. ..	puch.
Grey hair	.. ..	kalual (kalualet); pl., kalualeo (kalualeoiõk). (N., kalualiet.)
Grindstone	..	lisõ (lisõta); pl., lisõua (lisõuek) (N.).
Groin	.. ..	paliu (paliet); pl., paliui (paliõik) (N.).
Haft	.. ..	kunyuk (kunyukto); pl., kunyuk (kunyukik). (As N., except the secondary sing., where N. has kungit.)
Hail	.. ..	kuiya (kuiyat). N., kuiyat. Sap., koiyat.
Hand	.. ..	ruboi (ruboino); pl., ruboeua (ruboeuek) (N.).
Head	.. ..	ruikuyui (ruikuyuit); pl., ruikuyuio (ruikuyuõiõk) (D.).
Health	.. ..	aspo (aspot) (N.).
Heart	.. ..	ololua (ololuait); pl., ololuaio (ololuaiõik). M., ol-tau.
Heaven	.. ..	tomo (tomoet).
Heel	.. ..	tutuilgulo (tutuilgulo); pl., tutuilgua (tutuilguek). Ko., chichilgulo. Sap., tikilgulo.
Here	.. ..	ingok (ingokiet); pl., ingokoi (ingokõiõk) (N.).
Hide, ox	.. ..	muik (muikto); pl., muuo (muõuik). N., muito; pl., muiuek. Ko., muito; pl., muõuik.
Hill	.. ..	tulwo (tulwet); pl., tulwoloi (tulwoliõk) (N.).
Hip	.. ..	lip (lipit); pl., lipin (lipiõik) (Ko., lab-it; pl., labiuei. Sk., lep; pl., lepiuei); kûwet-ap-lip.
Hippopotamus	..	ruokuo (ruokuota); pl., ruokuoua (ruokuouek) (N.).

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Holé .. .. kering (keringet); pl., keringon (keringônik) (N.).
Hollow .. .. keruo (keruet); pl., keruoi (keruôk) (D.).
Honey .. .. kumia (kumiat) (N.).
Honey and water .. logome (logomek) (D.).
Honeycomb .. kipiririt (kipiririryet); pl., kipiririres (kipiriritesiek) (D.).
Honey-wine .. kipketin (kipketînik) (N.).
Hoof .. .. siiya (siiyet); pl., sioi (siôk) (N.).
Horn .. .. lâno (lânet); pl., lânoi (lânok) (D.).
House .. .. kochonge (kochonget); pl., kochonges (kochongesiek) (D.).
Hunger .. .. ilcho (ilchet) (D.).
Hunt .. .. sagas (sagasta); pl., sagasua (sagasuek). Ko. kip-sagas-ian, hunter.
Hunter .. .. kiplokotio (kiplokotiot); pl., kiplokot (kiplokotik) (N.).
Husband .. .. manoñgotio (manoñgotiot); pl., manoñgot (manoñgotik) (N.).
Hyæna .. .. kimarok (kimaroket); pl., kimarokes (kimarokesiek) (D.).
Idle person .. chiito ne nyara.
Illness .. .. korot (koroito); pl., koroiua (koroiuek) (N.).
Abscess .. .. mô (môet); pl., môoi (môôk) (N.).
Boil .. .. undir (undiriet); pl., undir (undirik) (N.).
Cold .. ... lolio (loliot).
Dropsy .. .. mpuras (mpurasta) (N.).
Rheumatism .. olbai (olbait) (M.).
Sore throat .. kipkawamook (kipkawamookit).
Insect .. .. kuut (kuutiet); pl., kuut (kuutik) (N.).
Iron .. .. karna (karnet); pl., karin (karik) (N.).
Jackal .. .. leluo (leluot); pl., lelue (leluek) (N.).
Jar .. .. .. soiyo (soiyet); pl., soiyes (soiyesiek) (N.).
Jaw .. .. nasiringoiya (nasiringoiyat); pl., nasiringois (nasiringoisiek) (D.).
Kidney .. .. soromya (soromyet); pl., soromoi (soromôk) (N.).
Knee .. .. kutuñg (kutuñglo); pl., kutuñgwa (kutuñgwek) (N.).
Knife .. .. chambolua (chamboluet); pl., chambolôs (chambolôsiek) (N.).
Language .. .. lokoiyo (lokoiyot); pl., lokoiyua (lokoiyuek) (N.).
Leaf .. .. .. sogo (sogot); pl., sog (sogek) (N.).
Left .. .. katam (N.).
Leg .. .. .. kel (keldo); pl., kelien (keliek) (N.).
Calf of .. .. ai (aita); pl., oiua (oiuek) (N.).
Fore .. .. narobroba (narobrobait); pl., narobrobais (narobrobaisiek)
Hind .. .. chât (châtit); pl., châtin (châtik) (N.).
Shin .. .. korok (korokta); pl., korokwa (korokwek) (N.).
(D.).

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Leglet (girl's)	ndapakwa (ndapakwet); pl., ndapakon (ndapakönik) (N.).
Leopard	melil (melilto); pl., melilua (meliluek). (Nandi dialects mostly have melildo. Sk., meril.)
Lightning	koliel (kolielet); pl., kolieloi (kolielök) (N.).
Lion	sombi (sombit); pl., sombis (sombisiek) (D.).
Liver	emunywai (emunywait); pl., emunywaiis (emunywaiisiek) (M.).
Lizard	cheringis (cheringisiet); pl., cheringisai (cheringisaiik) (N.).
Log	suben (subenet); pl., subenai (subenaiik) (N.).
Lover	sanya (sandet); pl., san (sanik) (N.). ochôpen (ochôpenit); pl., ochôpenis (ochôpenisiek) (D.).
Lover (girl)	murer (murériat); pl., mureres (mureresiek) (N.).
Lung	puonyo (puonyot); pl., puon (puonik) (N.).
Magic	chepkericho (chepkerichot) (N.).
Man	chii (chiito); pl., piich (piik) (N.).
Man (old)	olmoruokcho (olmoruokchot); pl., olmoruokis (olmoruokisiek). M., ol-moruo; pl., il-moruak. apaiye (apaiyet); pl., apaiis (apaiisiek).
Marrow	kutot (kutotet); pl., kutotis (kutotisiek) (D.).
Matter (pus)	pururut (pururutik) (N., purutek).
Meat	nyanya (nyanyait); pl., nyanyais (nyanyaisiek).
Medicine	kericho (kerichot); pl., kerich (kerichek) (N.).
Middle	kwen (kwenet); pl., kwenus (kwenusiek) (N.).
Milk	chê (chêko) (N.).
Monkey—	
Baboon	konokcho (konokchot); pl., konokchois (konokchoisiek) (D.).
Cercopithecus albigularis	tisia (tisiet); pl., tisoi (tisök) (N.).
Cercopithecus griseo-viridis	chepkiroinyo (chepkiroinyet); pl., chepkiroinyes (chepkiroinyesiek) (D.).
Colobus	saire (sairet); pl., saires (sairesiek) (D.).
Moon	arawa (arawet); pl., arà (arawek) (N.).
Morning	korun.
Mosquito	tingwich (tingwichet); pl., tingwich (tingwichik) (N.).
Moss	kechinchir (kechinchiriet); pl., kechinchir (kechinchirik) (D.).
Moth	tapurpur (tapurpuriet); pl., tapurpur (tapurpurik) (N.).
Mother	kôko; eiyo (N.).
My mother (man speaking)	pôkine.
My mother (woman speaking)	eiyo.

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Mouth	kut (kutit); pl., kutua (kutuek) (N.).
Nail (finger) ..	siiya (siiyet); pl., sioi (siŏk) (N.).
Name	kaina (kainet); pl., kainoi (kainŏk) (N.).
Nape of neck ..	keringich (keringichet); pl., keringichets (keringichetsiek) (D.).
Navel	kâpwal (kâpwalda); pl., kâpwalua (kâpwaluek) (N.).
Neck	kât (katit); pl., kotua (kotuek) (N.).
Necklace	asingai (asingait); pl., asingais (asingaisiek) (N.).
Neighbour	takowos (takowosit); pl., takowosis (takowosiek) (D.).
Net (trap)	porôwo (porôwet); pl., porôon (porôônik) (N.).
Neutral land ..	melel (melelet); pl., meleles (melelesiek) (D.).
Night	mesundei (mesundeito); pl., mesundeiua (mesundeiuek) (N.).
Nose	ser (serût); pl., serûn (serûnek) (N.).
Ostrich	tiond'-ap-songol (N.).[1]
Ox	tany (têta); pl., tich (tuka).
Paint (clay)—	
Brown, red ..	erokoi (erokoit); pl., erokoiis (erokoiisiek) (D.).
White	eworio (eworiot); pl., ewor (eworik) (N.).
Partridge	changweret (changweretiet); pl., changweretes (changweretesiek) (D.).
Penis	kiruk (kirkit); pl., kiruk (kirukik). N. = bull.
Penis (uncircumcised)	monyis (monyiset); pl., monyis (monyisik) (N.).
Perspiration ..	kaot (kaotik) (N.).
Phlegm	seper (seperik) (N.).
Pig	tora (toraet); pl., toroi (torŏk) (N.).
Pig (giant)	tum (tumda); pl., tumua (tumuek) (N.).
Pipe, tobacco ..	teret-ap-tumatet; pl., terênik-ap-tumatet (N.).
Pit (trap)	ngure (nguret); pl., ngures (nguresiek) (D.).
Plain	oñgata (oñgatet) (N.).
Poison	ûgwon (ûgwonit) (N.).
Porcupine	sabit (sabitet); pl., sobit (sobitik) Ko. Sap., sabetet; pl., sabitik. N., sabitiat = quill.
Porridge	kimio (kimiet); pl., kimoi (kimoiik) (N.).
Powerful person ..	kauwel (kauwelet); pl., kauweles (kauwelesiek) (D.).
Prostitute	kiplelkoñg (kiplelkoñgyat); pl., kiplelkoñgis (kiplelkoñgisiek).
Purgative	seketet (seketetik) (N.).
Quiver	mboñg (mboñgit); pl., mboñgis (mboñgisiek) (D.).
	moot (mootiet); pl., mootoi (mootŏk) (N.).
Rabbit	nakutil (nakutilit); pl., nakutilis (nakutilisiek) (D.).

[1] = "The-animal-of-the-(ostrich)-feather."

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Rain	rob (robta); pl., robua (robuek) (N.).
Rat	muria (muriat); pl., mur (murek) (N.).
Rat (mole)	nturumetyo (nturumetyot); pl., nturumetis (nturumetisiek) (D.).
Razor	kipchâpet-am-metit.
Rhinoceros ..	kipkam (kipkamit); pl., kipkamis (kipkamisiek) (D.).
Rib	karas (karasta); pl., korosua (korosuek) (N.).
Right (side) ..	tae (N.).
Ring (ear)	olaimer (olaimeriat); pl., olaimeres (olaimeresiek) (M.). kimeitai (kimeitaiit); pl., kimeitaiis (kimeitaiisiek) (N.).
River	ilos (ilosto); pl., ilosua (ilosuek) (D.).
Road	or (oret); pl., ortinua (ortinuek) (N.).
Root	tlkltio (tlkltiot); pl., tlklt (tlkltik) (N.).
Saliva	ñgul (ñgulek) (N.).
Scar	soremyo (soremyet); pl., sorem (soremik) (D.).
Seed	kesua (kesuot); pl., kesui (kesuek) (N.).
Shade, shadow ..	tomirimir (tomirimiriet); pl., tomirimirai (tomirimiraiik) (N.).
Sheep	olgine (olgineit); pl., olgineiis (olgineiisiek) (M.).
Sheep (ram) ..	enturume (enturumeĕt); pl., enturumeĕs (enturumeĕsiek) (Kikuyu ndurume).
Shield	loñg (loñget); pl., loñgotinua (loñgotinuek) (N.).
Shoulder	rukumbo (rukumbet); pl., rukumbon (rukumbŏnik) (D.).
Side	komas (komasta); pl., komosua (komosuek) (N.).
Sister	*See* "Girl."
Skin (human) ..	iririo (iririot); pl., iriren (irirĕnik) (N.).
Skirt	chepkaiyu (chepkaiyuit); pl., chepkaiyuis (chepkaiyuisiek) (N.).
Skull	takungu (takungut); pl., takungus (takungusiek) (N.).
Smoke	iye (iyet); pl., iyes (iyesiek) (N., iyet*).
Snake	kipsekor (kipsekoriet); pl., kipsekores (kipsekoresiek) (D.).
Python	indara (indaret); pl., indoroi (indorŏk) (N.).
Puff adder ..	kipinchuse (kipinchuset); pl., kipinchuses (kipinchusesiek) (N.).
Snuff	olaisuk (olaisukit) (M.). Ko. has "oloisiogit."
Son	*See* "Child."
Son of	arap (N.).
Song	esingolyo (esingolyoit); pl., esingolyois (esingolyoisiek). M., e-singŏlio.
Spear	olmorondoi (olmorondoit); pl., olmorondoiis (olmorondoiisiek) (M.).

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Star .. .. tapoiya (tapoiyat); pl., tapoi (tapoiik) (N.).
Stick .. .. kiruk (kirukto); pl., kirukua (kirukuek) (N.).
Stone .. .. koii (koiita); pl., koii (koiek) (N.).
Sun .. .. .. cheptalil (cheptalilit); pl., cheptalilis (cheptalilisiek) (N.).
Sword .. .. wesek (wesekto); pl., wesekua (wesekuek) (D.).
Tail .. .. wâtut (wâtutiet); pl., wâtutai (wâtutaiik).
Testicle .. .. tolkêlyo (tolkêlyot); pl., toikêl (tolkêlik) (D.).
Thief .. .. chorin (chorindet); pl., chor (chorik) (N.).
Thigh .. .. kupes (kupesto); pl., kupesua (kupesuek) (N.).
Thing .. .. kii (kiito); pl., tukun (tukuk) (N.).
Thirst .. .. melel (melelda) (N.).
Throat .. .. mook (mookto); pl., mookwa (mookwek) (N.).
Thunder .. .. ilat (ilet); pl., ilot (ilotik) (N.).
Tinder .. .. sasya (sasyat) (D.).
Tobacco .. .. tumato (tumatet); chepkochût (chepkochûtit) (N.).
Tobacco-box .. kiprauwi (kiprauwit); pl., kiprauwis (kiprauwisiek) (N.). Ko. chep-kiraut. Sap., in-giraut = snuff box.
Tongue .. .. olgeche (olgecheit); pl., olgecheiis (olgecheiisiek) (M.).
Tooth .. .. kelda (keldet); pl., kelat (kelek) (N.).
Tree .. .. .. ket (ketit); pl., ket (ketik) (N.).
Udder .. .. sorio (soriet); pl., soroi (soroiik) (D.).
Vagina .. .. kâpin (kâpiniet); pl., kâpin (kâpinik) (N.).
War (raid) .. .. lug (luget); pl., luges (lugesiek) (N.).
Warrior .. .. muren (murenet); pl., muren (murenik) (N.).
Water .. .. engare (engaret); pl., engares (engaresiek). M., engare.
Wife .. .. *See* "Woman."
Wind .. .. usoon (usoonet); pl., usoonai (usoonaiik) (N.).
Witch-doctor .. ponin (ponindet); pl., pon (ponik) (N.).
Witch-doctor (diviner) orkoiyo (orkoiyot); pl., orkoi (orkoiik) (N.).
Woman .. .. korko (korkot); pl., korus (korusiek) (N.).
Barren .. .. soon (soonet); pl., soonotinua (soonotinuek) (N.).
Married .. .. yôsôtio (yôsôtiot); pl., yôsôt (yôsôtik) (N.).
Old .. .. engitog (engitogit); pl., engitogis (engitogisiek). M., engitok = the wife.
Word .. .. lokoiyo (lokoiyot); pl., lokoiyua (lokoiyuek) (N.).
Wrist .. .. walel (waleldo); pl., walelua (waleluek) (N.).
Year .. .. keny (kenyit); pl., kenyis (kenyisiek) (N.).
Zebra .. .. oloitigo (oloitigoit); pl., oloitigois (oloitigoisiek) (M.).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(*b*) Verbs.

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Verbs are given in their stem (*i.e.* the imperative sing.) only. The following, after a verb, denote that it is a derived stem, and conjugated as described in the Grammar under the heading which is affixed to it:—Pros. = motion hither. Apo. = motion thither. Dat. = dative. Rf. = reflexive. Ca. = causal. Rp. = reciprocal.

Able (be)	imũch (N.).	Copulate	kum (N.).
Abuse	chup (N.).	Cough	lal (N.).
Angry (be)	nereket (N.).	Count	iit (N.).
Answer	iyan (N.).	Cry	rer (N.).
Arise	ũget (N.).	Cut	til (N.).
Arrive	it-un (N.) (Pros.).	Delay	ikaa-kei[1] (N.) (Rf.).
Ascend	lany (N.).	Die	*S.* 1. a-me (N.).
Ask	tepen (N.).		*P.* 1. ki-pek-un (N.).
Assist	toret (N.).	Dig	paal (N.).
Be	mi (N.).	Do	yai (N.).
Bear (fruit)	ii (N.).	Drink	iye (N.).
Beat	pir (N.).	Drunk (be)	pôkit (N.).
Beckon	ũgweeh (N.).	Dwell	meny (N.).
Beg	som (N.).	Eat	am (N.).
Blink	mismis (N.).	Enlarge, increase.	tes (N.).
Blow	kuut (N.).	Enough (be)	yam (N.).
Bore	parpar (N.).	Extinguish fire	mis (N.).
Box ears	rapach (N.).	Fall	iput (N.).
Break	iri (N.).	Fatigued (be)	ũget (N.).
Break wind	kwot (N.).	Fear	iyuei (N.).
Breathe	ipus (N.).		muen (D.).
Brew	riech (N.).	Fight	pir-kei (N.) (Rf.).
Bring	ip-un (N.) (Pros.).	Fill	inyêt (N.).
Build	tech (N.).	Fill with food.	ipiiy-en[2] (N.) (Rp.).
Burn (act	pel (N.).	Filled with food (be)	piiy-en.[2]
Buy	al (N.).	Finish (act)	tar (N.).
Call	kur (N.).	Finished (it is)	ka-ko-pek (N.).
Carry	ip (N.).	Fold	aruny (N.).
Chop	yep (N.).	Follow	isup (N.).
Circumcise	muratan (N.).	Forget	yutie (N.).
Close	ker (N.).	Get	aich (N.).
Come	ichôm-un (M.) (Pros.).		
Cook	kwany (N.).		

[1] *Present*, a-'kooikei.

[2] These two verbs are irregular: *Present*, a-piiy-onyi; *Past*, ka-a-piiy-e. The first is the Ca. of the simple form.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Give	.. ..	kôn; ikôchi (irreg. as in Nandi).	Run	.. ..	lapat (N.).
Go	.. ..	ichôm-den (M.) (Apo.).	Say	.. ..	mwai (N.); ile (N.).
Grind	.. ..	ñga (N.).	Say to	.. ..	mwa-un (Pros.). mwa-chin (Dat.).
Growl	..	moror (N.).	Scowl	.. ..	injurur (N.).
Have	.. ..	tinye (N.).	Search	..	cheñg (N.).
Hear	.. ..	kas (N.).	See	.. ..	suwen[2] (D.).
Hunt	.. ..	sagas	Sell	.. ..	al-ten (N.) (Apo.).
Hurt	.. ..	am (*e.g.* am-a esikoyoit, *my head hurts me*).	Sew	.. ..	nap (N.).
			Shoot	.. ..	mwog (N.).
Ill (be)	..	mian (N.).	Shut	.. ..	ker; rat (N.).
Kill	.. ..	par (N.).	Sleep	.. ..	ru (N.). ru-ien (Rp.).
Kindle	..	inam; ilal (N.).	Smell (act)	..	iñgu (N.).
Know	..	sue (D.).	Smell (intrans.)		ñgu-ten (Apo.).
Laugh	..	rori (N.).	Spit	.. ..	ñgutut (N.).
Leap	.. ..	toromben (N.).	Spoil	.. ..	ñgem (N.).
Let alone	..	met-ten (N.) (Apo.).	Stand	.. ..	tonon (N.).
Love	.. ..	cham (N.).	Steal	.. ..	chor (N.).
Marry	..	itun (N.).	Sweep	..	ipûch (N.).
Meet	.. ..	nyor-un (N.) (Pros.).	Take, hold	..	nam (N.).
Open	.. ..	yat (N.).	Throw	.. ..	wer (N.).
Overturn	..	uwech (N.).	Tie	.. ..	rat (N.).
Pour	.. ..	roñg (N.); roñg-un (N.) (Pros.); roñg-jin (Dat.).	Travel	.. ..	ru-ten (N.) (Apo.).
			Understand	..	kas (N.).
Prepare	..	yai-ten (N.) (Apo.).	Unfasten	..	yat (N.).
Put	.. ..	in-de(n) (N.) (Apo.). konor (N.).	Untie	.. ..	itiach (N.).
			Upset	.. ..	turur-ten (N.) (Apo.). tum-den (N.) (Apo.).
Quiet (be)	..	sis (N.).	Wait	.. ..	kany (N.).
Rain	.. ..	robon (N.).	Walk	.. ..	wend-ote[3] (N.).
Refuse	..	yesien (N.).	Want	.. ..	mach (N.).
Remain	..	tepi (N.).	Wash	.. ..	iuun (N.).
Remember	..	ipwat (N.).	Wash oneself	..	iuun-gei (Rf.).
Remove	..	nem-un (N.) (Pros.).	Well (be)	..	sap (N.).
Return (act)	..	iwech (N.) (Ca.).	Yawn	.. ..	ime (N.).
Return (intrans.)		we-i-kei[1] (N.) (Rf.).	Yell (shout)	..	wach (N.).
Ripen	..	rur-ien (N.) (Rp.).			

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[1] *Present*, a-we-chi-kei.
[2] *Cf.* Sk. sow-, *see*.
[3] *Present*, *S.* 1. a-wend-oti; *P.* 1. ki-pend-oti.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Note.—In the foregoing vocabulary the letter (N.) does not necessarily mean that the equivalent Nandi word has exactly the same meaning or the same form as the Dorōbo word. In several cases the Nandi words have quite different meanings, though referring to the same sort of thing as the Dorōbo word, *e.g.* "mesundeito," the Dorōbo for "night," means in Nandi, "darkness when there is no moon." And when, *e.g.*, "paal" is marked (N.) it does not necessarily follow that the Nandi is "paal" (in this case the Nandi is "pal"). The object of the indication is to show what words are to be considered Nandi, what words are to be considered dialect, and what words Māsae.

Examples of Dorōbo. (True Dorōbo in italics.)

Ker-oti *Okick* si ko-*sue* *kochongesiek*
They-are-walking-about-looking-at the-Dorōbo that they-may-know the-huts
chepo piik ap *sameita*.
which-are-of the-people of the-forest.

Ma-ngo-mi *sombisiek* *samakuek* korosue-chu.
Not-and-there-are the-lions (in) the-forests (in) countries-these.

Mi-i *kisamet* ne lony-e *ilosta*.
There-is the-bridge which it-crosses the-river.

Ki-ichōm-doi-i *ki-sagus* āñg *ñgōkik*.
We-go that-we-may-hunt with the-dogs.

Ko'len *olmoruokchot* A-mach-e *simborokuet* *ko-chōm-us* si ko-ram
And-he-says the-old-man I-want the-girl that-she-comes that she-may-draw
engare.
the-water.

Ki-pendi *samuk*[1] ki-*sagus* torset ne mony-e ye mi-i
We-go forest we-hunt the-bush-pig which it-dwells where there-is
oldamiyoit.
the-olive-tree.

VII.—LIST OF TREES AND PLANTS.

Dorōbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
chelumbut	ĕwât	
chepkeipet		
chesicheiyot	chesicheiyet	
choruet	choruet	*ficus* sp.
ketit-ap-lnaiik		
kāposwet	serengwet	
kāput-kalial	kāpkiloluet	

[1] In Mr. Hobley's vocabulary of Ravine Dorōbo (*Man*, 1906, 21), the phrase "kibe samak," lit. "we go to forest," is given for "hunt."

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Dorôbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
keliot	keliot	*acocanthera Schimperi.*
kesainet	serkutiet	
ketuyuwet	martit	
kipeichekwet	siriat	
kipkomotet	kipkoskosit	
kipsepuet	kipsepuet	*tilia* sp.
kiptililiet	kipuimetyet	
kiseruet	kuseruet	*sedum* sp.
koropanyat	kormanyat	
kuriot	kuriot	
kwâmereryet	chepsañgainet	
laropat	ket-ō-ka	
lemeiyuet	lamaiyuet	*ximenia americana.*
mâchet	soiyet	
marorto	sakomwet	
masaita		
mindeyuet	masiririet	*polygonum senegalense.*
moiyuet	cheptangolik	parasite, tree-rope.
momonyat	momonyot	*rubus rigidus.*
mukupchot	lepekwet	*dracæna* sp.
ndorokyat		
ñganasyat	chepkeleliet	
nyaklet	kipsutiet	parasite, tree-rope.
olchapalait	chepitet	
oldamiyoit	emdit	*olea chrysophylla.*
ororuet	teldet	*ficus* sp.
pōpōnet	siksiket	
porôwet	silipchet	*dombeya* sp.
rōremlet	kuresiet	*euphorbia candelabrum.*
rosopelyet	leltonget	*abutilon indicum.*
saptet	tarakwet	*podocarpus* sp.
sisuriet	susuriet	*musa cucie.*
seet	seet	
senetwet	senetwet	*cassia didymobotrya.*
señgeñgwet	seseiyat	
sestuet	katet; sertuet	*acacia robusta.*
sitotwet	sitotyot	
soboitit	simotuet	*ficus* sp.
sosoiyat	tekat	*arundinaria alpina.*
sumbeiyuet	sumboiyuet	

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Dorôbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
susuek (" grass ")	sekemetyet	moss.
taptet	setyot	
teet	tarakwet	*juniperus procera.*
tegeltît	indakariat	*acanthus arboreus.*
tenetwet	tenduet	
tepengwet	tepengwet	*anilia integrifolia.*
teresyat	teresyat	
tiinet		
tilolwet	tilolwet	bracken.
tyemnowet	chemnoet	

VIII.—List of Tribe Names.

Dorôbo.—Okio (Okiot); pl., Oki (Okiek.).
Elgeyo.—Keyo (Keyot); pl., Keyu (Keyek).
European.—Asungio (Asungiot); pl., Asungu (Asunguk.).
Kavirondo.—Lemin (Lemindet); pl., Lem (Lemek).
Kipsikis, Lumbwa.—Kipsiktsin (Kipsiktsindet); pl., Kipsikis (Kipsiktsiek). il-Kakesant.
Masae, Uasin Gishu.—Ipkwapcho (Ipkwapchot); pl., Ipkwap (Ipkwapek.).
Nandi.—Meyuo (Meyuot); pl., Mee (Meek).[1]
" Sirikwa."—Kâpcheptuen.

IX.—The Physical Features of the Dorôbo.[2]

By the Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.

The physical features of the Dorôbo are not particularly distinctive, nor do they differ to any great extent from their neighbours the Nandi. There are, however,

[1] It is curious to note that this word is applied by the Suk to the Dorôbo; by the Nandi to any agricultural tribe; and by the Masae to the Bantu " savages." It has no connection, as is sometimes thought, with the N. Lemek = " the Kavirondo peoples in general," the stem of which is lem-, and the real meaning " bay."

[2] For physical types, see Pls. XXVI-XXVIII. These photographs were taken by the Hon. P. L. O'Brien.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

In conclusion, I do not consider that the physical characteristics of the Dorôbo throw much light upon the controversy as to their origin. These characteristics tend, if anything, to indicate that they are a Nilo-Hamitic race, which has been somewhat altered by environment.[1]

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[1] In the foregoing paper no remark has been made as to the "false" Dorôbo. There are a large number of people of all sorts of tribes, whatever taken to the woods, and live as outlaws, mostly on account of some misdemeanour. The numbers of true Dorôbo have probably been swelled also by people from the tribes next to whom they dwell, e.g., Maasai, Nandi, etc. But these additions to the numerical strength of a certain are by no means Dorôbo, though they may be so in name. And I cannot accept Merker's view of the origin of the Dorôbo. (*Die Masai*, pp. 6-9, 271, etc.; Miss Werner's review of Hollis, *Nandi*, in *Man*, 1910, 92, p. 166.) Merker's work is not, I believe, very reliable, and he seems to be a rather prejudiced observer. The physical characteristics which we have noted may perhaps, be taken as one indication among others that the Dorôbo we met were true Dorôbo, and not outlaws of other tribes. The effects of environment are not likely to make themselves visible in a few years only. The fact that these Dorôbo vocabularies (luckily recorded by Mr. Hobley, loc. cit.) show that the true Dorôbo language is similar to Nandi in structure, may, I think, be take accurate evidence against those who maintain that the Dorôbo of Mau, Elgeyo-Marakwet, Kenya, Baringo, etc., are formed mostly of outlaws from neighbouring tribes.—(G. W. B. H.)

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

I. Introduction
II. Kinship
1. The Third Ascending Generation
2. The Second Ascending Generation
3. The First Ascending Generation
4. Own Generation
5. The First Descending Generation
6. The Second Descending Generation
III. The Family and Behaviour
1. Family life
2. The Age-Set system
3. Behaviour
IV. The Clan
V. Marriage.
1. Circumcision
2. Pre-marital sex-life
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5. Adultery and divorce
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7. Names
8. Marriage with Nandi

I. Introduction[1]

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and elusive, who live in small groups scattered over the high forest lands of Kenya Colony and parts of northern Tanganyika Territory. They all speak dialects of Nandi, the vocabularies being more or less close to Nandi according to their distance from the Nandi area, and many of their customs and institutions

[1] This account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done in the Tinderet Forest area between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. A previous visit I had made in 1927 was still remembered, and in 1938 I had little difficulty in renewing my acquaintance with the people, in which I was greatly helped by one Arap Mining, my guide in 1927, whose name is mentioned several times in the following pages. To his tact and knowledge is due any measure of success that I may have achieved.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Leverhulme organization for making the work possible, and to various people, notably Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard and the late Dr. C. G. Seligman, for help and encouragement. I wish also to express my thanks to Messrs. G. A. Corrance and E. G. Whitfield for their kindness to me when I was visiting the Dorobo in the neighbourhood of their farms.

The conditions described in the following pages are those which obtained up to the year 1940.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kwelut*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[204] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kwelut*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
436 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruwa in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their waterbuck to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruwa; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his kinds. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[234] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people
[197] hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unco-operative shyness demands numbers to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own
[241] shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

7: Wayland H-5 (ca. 1934) 1935 FLS Diaries FL6
J. ye FL8

776 *Religion and Magic.*—God, the creative being, who long ago made all things, but who is now mostly asleep, is called *Tuhanki*. He was not the first man—indeed, nobody knows who the first man was—nor has he a female counterpart. Other as he is, he can on occasion
[782] be persuaded by means of sacrificing a goat to intervene in human affairs, as when, for instance, the crops are bad and rain is needed.

791 The wizard is known as *Kenenjeni*. His functions are the same as those of the *Ajaks* of Labuan, and like that functionary he is a rain-maker, who though more efficient in this respect than an ordinary person is not prepared always to guarantee results. Perhaps not more than 20 years ago there was among the Wanderobo a great rain-maker whose name, Longaloi, is still well known to all the surrounding tribes. His powers were widely admitted, and he was consulted, not only by the Wanderobo themselves, but also by the Dadathe, the *Ilo*, the *Kenenjeng* and the Turkana people, but not, however, by the Dorlogo of the Sudan.

789 When the rains were late and the country was suffering more than usual from drought, representatives of the tribes would come in with generous presents of livestock and food. These would be gathered and heaped together near Longaloi, who would sit quietly smoking, as it is related, till he considered the offerings sufficient, when he would locate himself in the matter of making rain. He, and the various representatives of the suffering tribes, would then partake themselves to a spot called Kalagoria, in a ravine that runs down into the Elit valley, where grows a giant fig-tree near a water-hole that, it is said, never dries up. A black goat would then be brought and be dashed in the water, but not allowed to drown. After this it would be speared in such a way that the contents of the stomach would be extracted without damaging the viscera, which would then be filled with water. The procedure then was to hang the goat in the top of the fig-tree, while Longaloi called upon Tuhanki to send rain. At the conclusion of the rain-maker's incantations, the goat would be cut down, and as it fell with a thud to the ground, those taking part in the ceremony would rush in, drain out all the water that remained within the body after its fall, and bear it away to a fire already prepared and cook it. The meat would be eaten by those who took part in the ceremony, and in due course the rain would fall.

791 Longaloi enjoyed a great reputation, and it is admitted, on all hands, that he was a long among rain-makers. He is much regretted by the Wanderobo, who say that since his death (he died in the Turkana country) the rains have been poor and uncertain, and "things are not what they used to be" in his day. His son is, or was, a chief in Turkana. It is to be noted that Longaloi was not a chief, but first and last a rain-maker, and the last of a long line of such specialists. I could gather nothing reliable as to the mode of burial of such folk.

[821] I recently contracted with the present Wanderobo chief, with whom I was on very good terms, to visit the rain-maker's shrine by the giant tree. We were to start before dawn, but alas! the chief's courage failed at the last moment, at least I suppose so, for he disappeared and I and my search party failed to find him. I never saw him again.

1897 A few measurements and a very short sample vocabulary follow. There seem to indicate differences between the Wanderobo and their neighbours. The most marked difference is, perhaps, in their speech, for although the Wanderobo speak "Kenenjeng," the tongue which,

[illegible] with dialectical variations, in common to the rest of Sovereign [illegible] the full value of Sheet Orthodox (Kashubian) and Modern Slovenian, they form a language of their own.

Westminster Shorthand, Junior and Elementary.

Name.	Examination Year.	Mark.				Result.	Remarks.
		A.	B.	C.D.	Average P.C.		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The word commonly taken as the accent.

Result Considering

Regular.	Possible.	Outstanding.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Kenyenjin Terminology—(contd.).

English.	Dinkidin.	Kenyenjin.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Tree Diseases.

The Dinkidin resemble the Lubwa and the Wandendin in appearance and dress. Their country, like that of the Zo, is that of the plains; and, like the Zo and the Kenyenjing, they are "cattle people" and possess numerous herds.

The Village.—The Dinkidin village (see p. XXIV, Fig. 1—somewhat like that of the Wandendin, except that there is but one outer enclosure (a very strong one), and the interior enclosures round the kraal groups are to a greater or lesser extent omitted. There is also a special compound for cattle. The huts, too, are purpel and well made, and the entrances are larger than those of the Wandendin.

The *purpel* of the hut walls is done with clay and is rendered with cow-dung. A well-built hut has a little portico to the door and two upright supports, also purpel and rendered, are placed in front of this (Text-figs. 21, 21a and 21b).

Each village is the home of a patrilineal, his wives, sons and grandsons, and their wives and children. The villages occur in widely separated groups, each group being occupied by a section of the tribe. The sections are exogamous and non-totemic.

Clothing and Adornment.—Little need be said under this head, for what is true of the Lubwa is also true of the Dinkidin in this respect. It may be mentioned, however, that the people are very fond of ornaments of all sorts, and one infrequently sees one old man whose heads are surrounded by a circlet of sheep's teeth (Pl. XXV, Fig. 1).

Food.—The essential food of the Dinkidin is blood, milk and meat. The first two they swallow raw. Now that they are growing grain this is some use. They frequently tie a calved with fresh blood taken from live cattle tied at intervals for this purpose, or from a sheep or a goat, the body cavity of which is used when the animal is killed as a receptacle into which the warm blood is allowed to flow. Several kinds of grain have been introduced, but millet is by far the commonest grown. An attempt on the part of the Native Commissioner in 1929 to introduce bananas proved a failure, owing to the long droughts from which the country suffers.

[1] "Purpel" is an old-fashioned technical term for a process of smearing the walls of dwellings with cow-dung. The modern equivalent is "wattle-dagb".

/54 cont'd/

in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Marakwet, Chilelisaragwani, Buru, Dondote etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /55/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders: usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Bantu Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means tsetse fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Ari and the Kikuyu call them Adzi. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Adzi."

/30 cont'd/

unceremoniously by wholesale rape rather than swallowed by peaceful penetration, raised a type of humanoid (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to themselves. There is very little in general principle common to these two views except that the Dorobo, if it interests them, can claim some small degree of aboriginality to both.

84. Dr. L. S. B. Leakey told the Land Commission:-

"... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the nucleus of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in the country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Mau today. Round that nucleus you have deserters from Masai, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribe and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kijabe there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu ... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..."

85. Modern Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Ki-Gumbe of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Kenya repudiate this and point out that there were no stilts among them and that they might have eaten and run implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumbe blend. In facing Mount Kenya he writes:

"... even after the Gumbe had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of human beings as Dorobo or Aathi, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

Bibliography C-S (ca. 1930-1949) 1956 FLA Dembo FLA
Kenji Fuji

/16 cont'd/

Unlike their predecessors, they were not short in stature, but something between the Gumbe and the Kikuyu. Also they did not live underground, but built their homes on the surface, almost as circular huts as those of the Gikuyu homesteads. Their language, too, was similar to the Gikuyu. To a certain extent the two tribes could understand one another with little difficulty.

With these evidences it would not be assuming too much to say that the interbreeding between the Gumbe and the Gikuyu was responsible for the disappearance of the Gumbe as a distinct race, and the producing of the Ndorobo or Aathi, who became the new owners and the hunters of the forests ..."

/20/ 22. With regard to language I have satisfied myself that the Dorobo now living at Kericho, who are the ones with whom we are particularly concerned, spoke a language of the Nandi type. Old men still speak it, though they also speak Kikuyu. The younger men use Kikuyu almost exclusively. In the Dorobo language, as still spoken by the older men, there has been considerable borrowing from Masai, though the bulk of the vocabulary is Nandi-like. But when both Masai and Nandi are excluded there remains perhaps an element which may be a residuum of pure original Dorobo, or may merely represent the degree of variation one would expect in any dialect severed from the other dialects of its group for a lengthy period, as one must suppose the particular dialect of Nandi or pre-Nandi to have been. The old men say that the language they speak today is the only language spoken by Dorobo tribes in former times, so far as they know. They can manage to understand a Nandi or a Kipsigis, but do not find it easy. So far as I could make out in the time at my disposal the grammar of the language, like its vocabulary, is of a Nandi type. A few comparisons are given here to illustrate the vocabulary. Infinitives are given in the form with the prefix and verbs are given as stems only.

/10 cont'd/

	Dumbo	Nandi	Masai
one	agenge	aienge	
two	eli	eieng'	
three	tlumuk	ameek	
four	ang'wan	ang'wan	ang'wan
five	mut	mut	(ieiyan)
six	lot	olle	(olle)
seven	sabuluna		saapiiluna
eight	tolo	oiddi	iipet
nine	saruk		saruk
ten	tomon	tomon	tomon
twelve	tomon ag eli	tomon ak eieng'	
hundred	ib		ip
man	chiron, or ag'wan	chiron	
woman	chilwget		
women	arumich	lameiek	
warrior	muenok	muenok	il-muran
girls	nibib	ayok	
elder, old man	betyondet	peiyon	
leopard	meilibi	meilibi (kiyeigie)	
lion	ngorondo	ng'orondo	
elephant	kerumio		
fever pig	ramda	ramda	
goat	arwo	arwo	
rain	mongo	aeregie	
lethal	iyeagon		
cow	ndikondo	iyeagon	
believe	kwa	eiie	
rain	kwagon		
ear	ortiro	eeiro	
food	rondo	eendo	
hot	kot	keiie, kot	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
eye	kigio	keiee	

/32 cont'd/

	Dorobo	Nandi	Masai
witchdoctor	bororodet	pororindet	(ol-oiboni)
Masai	iguchokonditi	iguapelun	
Kamba	ikeng'o		'i-no-ng'o (the whiskers)
Kikuyu	ngun, kugwii		ii-kokuyo
Dorobo	ogiek (pl.)	okiek (pl.)	
Swahili	Kong'aiek (pl.)		
European	ojojo (pl. ijojo)		'i-ojojo (the hairy ones)/32/
nose	opua	oyo	
go	ot	ot	
follow	opur		
boy	ot	ol (-il)	
ear	aath		
mouth	moob	mach	
no	ooi	ooi	

Complete accuracy is not claimed for this list of Dorobo words; accuracy is not easy when one is dealing with aged men with unreliable memories; they are so apt to answer in long sentences which doubtless contain the words one wants but smothered under a mass of verbiage entirely unintelligible to one not previously acquainted with their language. But the list is sufficiently accurate to fulfil its purpose, which is to relate the speech of these Dorobo to some other dialect of such a relationship exists in fact.

ET. And then, I think, is just about as far as we can go towards an ethnological synopsis of the Dorobo people in the present state of knowledge. It seems, then, likely that there was some section of a people who retained their hunting culture when the rest of them assumed a settled pastorality or agriculture. Just when these people were on record yet say. The scanty evidence we have points to their being connecting link with a cattle-grazing race, and their retention of a Bantu type would seem to fit the facts as well as any. It would be unsafe to base our findings on their language, but if we permit ourselves to talk of these immigrations from the east and mid-Nilotic

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly: this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then sprinkle one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Ewaso Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for this purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal would then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and hunted and searched themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick upon round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare foot of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the favourite of Man.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Kwafi numerals.

The prefix "ki-" and the suffixes "-ai," "-ki," and "-ik," are, I think, brought in from the Kwafi language, but most of the words will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Kwafi, and when collecting this vocabulary in some cases they appeared to have forgotten the Dgglish or Gwafi word but gave the Kwafi word, and had to search among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into weak disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[24]

depths of the forests on that mountain. The latter was referred to in a description of the journey in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1903 and August 1904. During thirteen long years nothing was heard of these people, nor does any other traveller seem to have referred to them; it was therefore with some interest that a representative of these people was discovered in a Dorobo colony found on the north-east side of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Fle swamp, and it was then elucidated that the hunted people are the Digirl clan of the Ogglek tribe, and that they acknowledge as their ruler a chieftainess named Ongitore who lives near Nyeri Sta. She is married to one Sikirai, who is also said to be one of the hunted people. Needless to remark, the possession of hoards and their acknowledgment of a female ruler are features of great rarity in Central Africa. Although the information is still very scanty, it has been considered advisable to communicate it in the hope that it may prove an incentive to further research. I append short comparative vocabularies of these dialects of the Ogglek language, and at the same time give in separate columns the Nandi and Masai equivalents for purpose of comparison. It will at once be seen that some words are the same in Ogglek language as Nandi, and other words are the same as Masai. At first sight it might appear that the Ogglek had borrowed these words from Nandi and Masai, but it is rather remarkable to find the Digirl clan of Ogglek, whose great haunt is the Kenia forest, using many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Masai and Elkoya.

They all speak Masai because there are a number of pure Masai living among them—people who lost all their cattle in the plague of 1891 and after that took to a hunting life. It therefore seems to me highly probable that the so-called Nandi words used by the Digirl people may be true Ogglek words gradually borrowed by the Nandi and now incorporated with the Nandi language; in the same way a few Ogglek words may have become incorporated with Masai. The subject is one of great interest, and it is to be regretted that our opportunities of studying these people are so infrequent.

The following is a list of the Ogglek clans:—

Clan.	Chief.	Clan.	Chief.
Ogglek of Kamilio or Timboit	Kipsongiun.	Ogglek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Kipkorouk.
Ogglek, east of Lumbwa country	Pilolum.	Do. do.	Kamish.
Ogglek in Elgeyo Escarpment	Kokimonglok.	Ogglek, south-west Kamis and also Fle swamp	Digirl.
Ogglek, north of Kamis	Sisirok.	Ogglek of Kisiam, north of Kamasyiro	Lelorish.
Ogglek of Lelithoi	Kaiwam.	Ogglek, south of Kabolil plain, south-west of Nakuru	Sainte.
Ogglek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Chebiskwonsh.		

The head Laibon of the Ogglek is said to be one Lemenkis, who lives with the Masai at Ngong hill Station, a hill in the region of the Lower Kedong.

The Digirl have a chieftainess named Ongitore who is said to live near Nyeri, or Kabogye in North Elkoya. I would mention that I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Hollis for the Masai equivalents in the vocabulary.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905

FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

DMN 192 197

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10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905

FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13.

No. 31.] MAN. [1905.

DMN
192
197

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Masai FL12

Nandi FL13

D
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644

Note.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Neumann (the author of *Elephant Hunting in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these hunters in some hills near the Kenia Fyke, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mugogodo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Mau.

D
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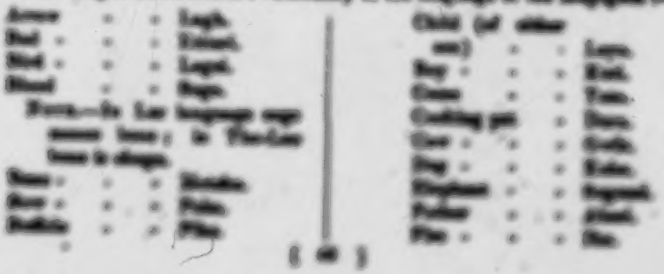
Mr. Neumann collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped at the outset of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but more studies than my to save this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Neumann's vocabulary of the language of the Mugogodo :—



12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL17

Sopi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was purewhite, and the Kikuyu an animal called Hako (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Sopi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Hako.

Sopi then sid each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and : different points.

The Masai marching into Kikuyu from Kaiyaku, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all the stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Sonai or Gallas were thus disposed of, and only by the name Irogi, which was give to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of teir tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Ukuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Kerobio, who is still alive and resides in one of Bungu's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuf's slave.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on em. After a time had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depends on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which forced of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primeval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of its means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Sengo, Kaiyaku, Kaviau, Kijabe, on Lolldipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kisumayu—(the chief that went to th last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiarity that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language! ?t Sengo, Kaiyaku, Kijabe, and Kaviau Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kaveirondo and Kavirondi, tribe birthplace of their fathers.

As regardsthe origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to be three two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on t plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and roofed over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhe in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6

dead, and to have sacrificed to them: the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Mwaka) to their ancestors. They spoke a Nilotic language*: but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dorobo themselves say that they, the Masai and the Kikuyu, are the descendants of a common ancestral tribe called the Eudigiri, and that their ancestors came from beyond Mount Kenya. They also maintain that the clans of all three tribes are identical: that, for instance, the Aimakaboro clan in the Mokoren of the Masai: the Asijire, the Taruaro: the Ambui, the Maiejan: the Akharibibo, the Aisir: and so forth.

Their Masai name of Il Torobot might, perhaps, imply that they are descended from a tribe of dwarfs: but though there are undoubtedly pigmy tribes of Dorobo, such as the Mois‡ of the bamboo forests of Mount Kenya, the Dorobo in existence at the present day are of much the same stature as other tribes in East Africa. The dwarfish figures of the Mois Dorobo may possibly be explained by the life they lead.

Compared with other natives the Dorobo are not deficient in intelligence: in fact, in many respects rather the contrary is the case. Dorobo wisdom and cunning are proverbial amongst the Kikuyu and Masai, who consult them in cases of sickness and accidents.

E. S. DUNDAS.

REVIEWS.

* It is difficult to account for the peculiar fact that they spoke Masai. There are, it appears to me, reasons for believing that a large number of tribes now living in East Africa originated from the north end Mount Kenya, and passed through the Kikuyu country. Many of these, and also many have been the case with the Masai, Lumbwa, and Suk, may have settled down in those fertile regions for a period sufficiently lengthy to have impressed their language on the aboriginal inhabitants. It is quite possible that very large areas may have been subjected during, and abandoned after such occupations.

† Torog, pl. dorogo, means short in Masai.

‡ Sandgrol and Mois are different names for the same people: they are also known to the Kikuyu as Aramanikoma. This name is said by some to have been applied originally to all the Dorobo in Kikuyu. The name Ark Ayak might possibly mean this tribe, in which case it bears out the theory that the Dorobo were originally the ruling tribe in the country. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that the word ayak, one of their father's principal wives, is possibly the same as Ark, the Kikuyu name for the Dorobo.

According to the Worshippers of the Church Missionary Society, the same classification seems according to the Worshippers of the Church Missionary Society, the same classification seems applicable to the Dorobo of the Guas Ngishu Plateau. I think myself, however, that the name means this dense little people, and is derived from a similar to the name given by the Kikuyu to a dense people in the Kikuyu country. Their name for the Masai—the word Ghoma means stubborn or, by a considerable stretch, little people.

13:Hollis T-5 (ca. 1908) 1909 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

126 **Some Dorobo Customs.** *By A. C. Hollis.* 101

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Naivasha and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and looks on unmoved as the celestial water-cap. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain ceased threatening we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East Africans alike—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if it had not been for him we should have been washed away.

● 197 It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Masai like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether their ancestors had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

A. C. HOLLIS.

[P.177]

14:Huntingford E-S (1929-1939)1962
FL8 Dorobo FL8

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tinderet forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpai, Kipkoreon, Sowiyo, Chepureur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tinderet hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepureur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tinderet form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1929 and November 1930 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to the organization for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See [illegible] Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX, 230 and fig. 2.

[P.187, A]

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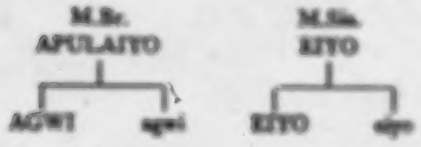


W.S.

(1) Br., Sis.—KESSENDA, kwendo.

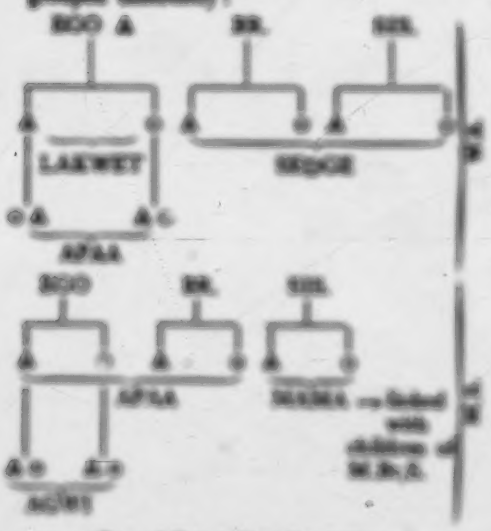
First Descending Generation.

(1) Children of MACHOEOR are also MACHOEOR.

(2) Bgr's children ♂ and ♀—LAEWET, Lahuri.

(3) Children ♂ and ♀ of Br., Sis.—SEDGE, wngr.

When W.S., children of this generation are grouped differently:



Second Descending Generation

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of S. and D.—AFAA, ngwa, transferred from first descending generation W.S.

Linguistic Analysis of Relationship Terms.

E.E.E.E—O., F.Br., W.Sis.H. linked to Mother, Sister, Sister-in-law, and probably to Aunt, ngwa (Uncle also), all meaning "father."

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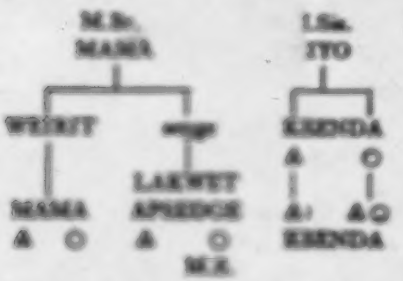

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MAWA—M.Br., M.Br.W. My mama, and possibly also to Boni *mama-ye*.

ITTO—M., M.Sis., F.Br.W. Nandi *ajo*, Masai *paipa*, and in most of the Nandi dialects for "mother." An irrational abbreviation for *ajo* in Dorobo *POEINE*, which in Nandi means Bro.SW.

AGWI—F.Br., his children and male children, Nandi *agui*, Masai *al-ahui-gwandikeben*. Cf. Boni *ahwe* < *hwe*, "boni."

EOEEO—F.M., M.M. Nandi and Masai *koko*, "old woman," i.e. grandmother. And cf. Masai *ang-kyko*, old woman.

POEEIT—F.Sis. This might be from a stem connecting to Boni *pak*, "grandson," but I think it is more likely to be a remnant of the original Dorobo terminology.

EOOYEE—F.Sis.H. etc. Nandi-Masai *mama* "woman," and cf. the Masai *ma a-kokoni a-ngaji*, "respected elders in law—Br.W. and W.Br.

EEEEO—F.S., M.F. Nandi *kei* is the same, form of *koko*, and *kwaye*="I mean," i.e. grandfather, like Nandi *ngoge kegogei*, the reference forms for *koko*, *koko*.

MAEOOEEO—F.S.S. etc. Still unchecked—S.S. and S.S. The etymology may be Low children, "widow," hence it could signify "a collection of relatives."

MAEOE EE—F.S.M. etc. Not a Nandi term, but perhaps of Nandi origin, i.e. *ma-ki-chet*, "They are not granted," because though their relatives are known, none can ever allow in one's life-time.

EOOOYO—Br. Sis. M.Sis.S and S. Nandi *chakwa* for Br., Sis., the true Nandi being *ngoket*. Possibly < Nandi *kwa*, "carry a

child,' a being one of the duties of a young girl to carry her small brother or sister.

AFAA—children of ego and ego's Br. May be connected etymologically with Nzadi *apa* —M.Sin.H., F.Br.S. (*an'-i-apa,*) meaning 'father,' and used elliptically in Dendo to mean '(children of) father.'

APULATTO—M.Br. < Mbuun *apala* < *apa.*

SUNDET—F.Sis., F.Br.W. < *sona* found in Mbuun *o-sudan,* 'sister to love.' *Sudet* (W.S.) is thus the equivalent of *pulat* (M.S.) and must mean 'one to whom respect is due.'

The Dendo normally live in family groups, either one or more elementary families or domestic families* forming an extended family, or one or more elementary or domestic families of fellow clansmen, e.g.:

1. (a) *Fraternal group: three brothers*

D.F.	S.F.	S.F.
(Bur 1)	(Bur 2)	(Bur 3)
S. Br.	2 Br.	Y. Br.

* F. or M.

1. (b) *Extended patrilocal family*

S.F.	S.F.
(Bur 1)	(Bur 2)
F. and M.	S. sw, wife, and children

2. *Clan group*

S.F.	S.F.	
(Bur 1)	(Bur 2)	(Bur 3)
Man and wife	Man and wife	? Member of 1

The people under whose influence a child will come are these: in (1) (a): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, F.Br., F.Br.W., with F.Br. S. and D. as associates. In (1) (b): F., M., F.F., and F.M. In (2): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, with clansmen as associates. The people normally responsible for the bringing up

*Definitions of 'family':
Elementary family=F., M., and children. (S.F.)
Domestic family=a group of people living together in one house or enclosure, F. being on an elementary family, e.g. one husband, two wives, and the children of each wife. (S.F.)
Extended family=a group of families related by generation or collateral living together as a definable unit, e.g. Father, and one and his wives and children form a patrilocal extended family. (Bur. S.)

Ex. 5. Young Ideal. 5 and 4 para-Ideals, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

The Ideals's protected

who consisted of their inventors by giving up their roving life, whereas the Woodsmen, by sacrificing their lands, were able to continue their familial nomadic life as hunters and soldiers of fleas combat to forge the great dam.

[illegible] Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic facts, I cannot passionately here, on behalf of the three branches belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Ideal and Tribual, with the insignificant for the latter, with the great number of Ideal dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Ideal patently understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Tribual, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Woodsmen, the 8 generals speak only the language of the Ideal, whereas the 3rd and

/10 cont./

the Ik will also have their own views, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the native words on the move among the Ideri and Wekuri, whereas the Kuk and Ik will have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all these branches in their religious rites, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tororo, closely related to the Ideri people. In birth and death, too, all these have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The sure existing proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people of a whole are divided into three large tribes, the [illegible] stem, the Ik mukiiyan, and the Ik sedigana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Kuk, as well as every Ik kuuk and Ik ssamani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Ideri in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wekuri, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people for the meeting of individual differences that have developed among the Wandaribe in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be observed in the third part.

/11/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. — The Ik gimit lineage. — The chief, his rule and policy, magic medicines, government men, village, ceremonies, feasts. — The ssaaman. — The Ik ikkuuke lineage. — The ssimiiyam.

Every tribe (ni gimiiyan) is divided, or has already been separated, into a number of lineages (ni gimiya, ni gimit). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ni gimiya kuuk)

/Ibi nuki/

[illegible] The fact that in many things the Ani served as a model for the latter two and that the Ki still also often designate themselves as Ani follows from the circumstances. They are both mainly /Ibi/ humans, whereas among the Ki generally the tendency toward animal humanity has still been preserved here and there.

[illegible] In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Ani will be discussed. Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Ani idiom.

The fact that the Ani are divided into the same tribes and languages as the Ikani and Wakuafi and that they also regard the [illegible] as their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be

Fig. 61. Wuatchi men.

1. [illegible] the chief of the Ikani people--Ankiyeh]

[illegible] FLII Masai

Derube FLII
Asa

[illegible]

XIII.

000 Language. -- Numbers. -- Times of the day. -- Designations of the closest days in the past and future.

• 197 The Aså speak two different idioms, namely, firs, depending on their place of residence, one of the dialects spoken by the Masai, and, secondly, a linguistic mixture that has become a separate "language." Its basic element is an older dialect of the Masai people, which in the course of time has acquired two admixtures. The older of the two stems from the Taveta language (1).

1. Probably also from that of another Semitic people already extinct, that is, through mixture with Negroes, disappeared among them.

1274 1277 1278 When the Aså migrated into the East African steppes, they found here the Taveta as livestock nomads and the Sawka as a poor hunting people who belonged to the Taveta people. The intercourse that arose between all these may have brought about the adoption of Taveta words into the Aså language and the transformation of Aså words into a form resembling Taveta. This process advanced further when the Aså were displaced by the second band of the Masai people, and the Taveta and Sawka, having become hunters in the meantime, became their teachers, who helped them develop from stock raisers to hunters. This Tavetaization of the Aså words is expressed particularly in the mutilation of the article and appending to the substantive one of the endings common in the Taveta language.

1279 1280 1282 Now, since the Aså to this day are in close contact with the Wakuafi and Wamasai, they also adopted words from them, i.e., words of the more recent Masai dialects and also words from Negro languages, which found entry among them through the Wakuafi mixed with Negroes. This is the more recent of the two admixtures.